THE JERUSALEM DAWN

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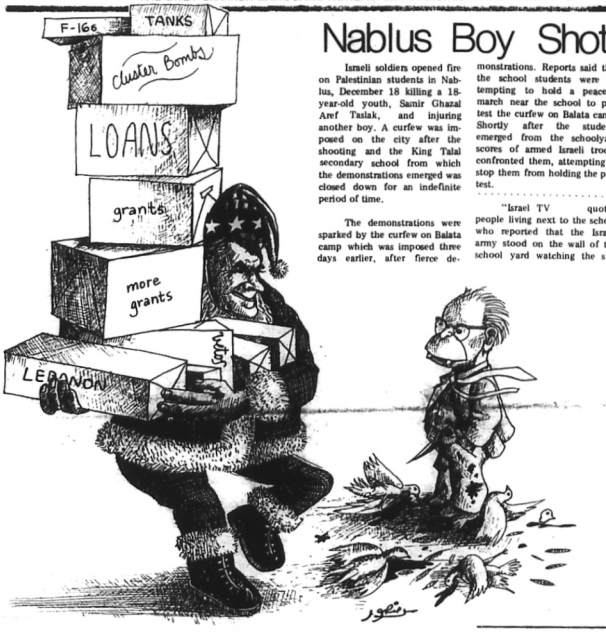
THE ONLY ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Al Fajr would like to wish our readers Season's Greetings.

Al Fajr will not appear next week, but can be found on the stands January 7.



Nablus Boy Shot Dead

Israeli soldiers opened fire on Palestinian students in Nablus, December 18 killing a 18-year-old youth, Samir Ghazal Aref Taslak, and injuring another boy. A curfew was imposed on the city after the shooting and the King Talal secondary school from which the demonstrations emerged was closed down for an indefinite period of time.

The demonstrations were sparked by the curfew on Balata camp which was imposed three days earlier, after fierce demonstrations. Reports said that the school students were attempting to hold a peaceful march near the school to protest the curfew on Balata camp. Shortly after the students emerged from the schoolyard scores of armed Israeli troops confronted them, attempting to stop them from holding the protest.

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"Israel TV quoted people living next to the school who reported that the Israeli army stood on the wall of the school yard watching the students. The residents said that after one student threw a stone the soldiers opened fire killing the youth and wounding another. They added that none of the students were in the street and that there was no demonstration." (Translation: Al Fajr, December 20, 1982)

. . . . . Later it was learned that one youth was killed and another injured. The BBC in its 3:00 pm Arabic language news broadcast said that the bullet hit the youth in his chest killing him instantly. An Israeli military spokesman claimed that the soldiers warned the demonstrators by shooting in the air before they fired at their legs. Meanwhile the other youth whose name was not released was shot in the upper part of the leg.

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"Israel Radio also reported that a curfew was imposed on Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem after Israeli vehicles were stoned. A curfew was also imposed on al-Qasabah and the commercial district in Nablus after students demonstrated to protest the shooting of Samir Taslak. Israeli soldiers arrested several students.

"Israeli Radio said that the city of Ramallah was tense. Youths in al-Am'ari refugee camp threw stones at Israeli vehicles on the main road near the camp." (Translation: Al Quds, December 20, 1982)

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continued on page 13

ISRAELI SOLDIERS WERE IN CAMPS DURING MASSACRE

BEIRUT (AP) — Survivors of the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut's Shatila refugee camp last September have said that Israeli soldiers in the camp during the killing tried to protect women and children from the Phalange militiamen. Their claims follow official Israeli statements and testimony before the commission of inquiry into the massacres in Shatila and Sabra camps that no Israeli soldiers were present.

Three Palestinian women, Iktafa Shallah, her 16-year-old daughter, Jamila, and their neighbour, Amina Khalifa, said they talked to an Israeli soldier at about 6 pm on Thursday, September 16, the day the massacre began. They also claim to have seen about 10 Israeli soldiers periodically coming and going just inside the western edge of the camp later that night.

The Israelis talked on radios in Hebrew, they said, and conversed with the Phalange in heavily accented Arabic.

Of more than a dozen survivors interviewed, only Khalifa, Shallah and Shallah's daughter said they saw Israelis inside Shatila. The others said they saw Israelis outside the camp on September 17 and 18, but none were inside.

In response to the women's statements, an IDF spokesman in Tel Aviv reiterated that no Israeli soldiers were present in the camps before, during or after the massacre.

Shallah, 44, said an Israeli soldier was with her at the entrance of a bomb shelter while six men including Khalifa's husband and two sons, were shot two houses away.

She said the soldier told a Phalangist: "Don't kill madam and baby, it is not their fault. They are leaving." The man she identified as Israeli spoke in heavily accented Arabic, but said "madam" and "baby" in English, she said.

Shallah said she spent the first 10 years of her life in Tel Aviv and Haifa, where she spoke Hebrew with her Jewish neighbours. Asked how she knew the man was an Israeli, she said she could tell by the way he spoke Hebrew and Arabic and because she recognized him the next day near an Israeli armoured personnel carrier ouside the camp. (from Jerusalem Post)

ZA'ATARA VILLAGE COUNCIL HEAD SACKED

The head of Za'atara village council, in the Bethlehem area, Mousa Mahmoud Muhsen, received a letter December 21 from the Israeli officer in charge of the village councils, Uri Cohen, informing him that he was dismissed from his post. The letter stated that his dismissal was ordered according to article 5 (a) of the 1954 Jordanian law. The order is effective as of December 12, 1982.

Mousa Mahmoud Muhsen had earlier presented an objection, along with several notables from the Ta'amreh tribe, to the Bethlehem area military governor and to the West Bank military governorate in Beit El against the confiscation of land from Tequa' village—al-Fardis mountain, near Bethlehem. Muhsen was elected to head the village council in 1975, and has carried out several development projects in the village. (Translation: Al Talia, December 23, 1982)

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Israeli Products Flood Lebanese Market

by Sami al-Aboudi

Not far behind the heels of the invading Israeli army, Israeli-made products began pouring into the devastated areas of South Lebanon. As early as June, exports arrived on a small scale, for the most part basic food stuffs. However, as time passed, Israeli shipments to Lebanon registered a sharp increase, in terms of value and variety. Up to November the five-month trading figure was put at US $ 100 million.

The Israeli ministry of trade, in cooperation with Israeli businesses, organises permanent exhibits for Lebanese merchants.

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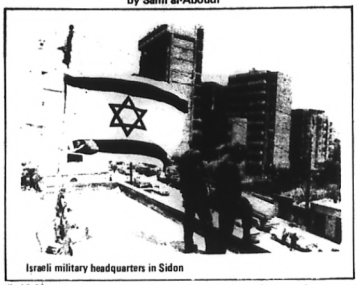
The revenue from the one-sided trade with Lebanon does not comprise a significant financial reward. Much more important is the threat it represents to the Lebanese economy because of the uneven competition between Lebanese producers and their Israeli counterparts. Initially, marketed goods were limited to foodstuffs, badly needed during and after the invasion when harvest and production were suspended, opening the way for Israeli producers to enter the Lebanese market. Local observers note that Israel is now flooding the Lebanese market with a wide variety of its products, including government subsidized items.

According to information compiled by Hebrew University Professor Israel Shahak, an authority on the subject, the Israeli military authorities issued regulations in June forbidding any produce other than Israeli to be sold until 10:00 am. Lebanese grown products can be sold after that time.



Israeli military headquarters in Sidon

During the first three months after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the total Israeli sales amounted to US $21 million. Trade during this period received little official attention from the Israeli authorities.

From the beginning of September, however, Israeli companies began to promote their products in a more organised manner, and were assisted by their military companies in Lebanon. Lebanese merchants were given easy access across the border to visit the numerous trade exhibits initiated by Israeli companies specially for them. According to *Ha'ir* newspaper in Tel Aviv, October 22, several permanent exhibits were opened in northern Israel. One, which opened in a parking lot in Gesher Hagiv kibbutz, north of Nahariya, represented 30 major producers. Among the displayed products were textiles from Ata textile company, and wines and liquers made by Carmel-Mizrahi company.

Another exhibit, operating since July, is located in Arazim Hotel in Metulla. This exhibit is operated by companies affiliated with the Histadrut, the Israeli labour-business federation. The exhibit contains a variety of products, including electronic devices, building materials, textiles, and food products. At least two other exhibits displayed luxury products, such as fashionable dresses, high quality blankets, wines, and many other manufactured products.

According to an unnamed Israeli official, quoted by *The Jerusalem Post* November 24, exports to Lebanon during the month of October totaled $20 million, $5 million more than the previous month. Estimates of the value of exports during the month of November were put at $30 million.

Israeli Imports

The Israeli ministry of trade claims that trade with Lebanon is being carried out in a fair way for the benefit of both countries. Both exports and imports ordinarily require a special permit from the ministry of commerce. Facts show however, that while there are numerous items being exported to Lebanon, only two items were allowed to be imported: scrap iron and old car tyres. Both items are recycled in Israel.

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The growing Israeli exports to Lebanon, which increased from US $15 million in September to US $20 million in October, have caused alarm among Lebanese officials who must hear the complaints of native producers. According to Jordan TV December 19, the head of Beirut's chamber of commerce, Adnan Kassar, expressed concern over the loss of Lebanese trade control.

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Israel-Lebanon Talks To Start

Israel has dropped its insistence that talks with the Lebanese be held in Jerusalem and negotiations on an Israeli pull-out are expected to start in the next few days. This dramatic development was announced by Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon at a meeting with US envoys Philip Habib and Morris Draper. There is still confusion, however, on an agenda for discussions and over exactly what role the US will play in them.

Draper and Habib entered Israel at the peak of a wave of press reports that the US government was growing impatient with Israeli intransigence. At their first two hour meeting, Sharon dramatically announced that he had achieved a "major breakthrough" in talks with Lebanese officials. Earlier Sharon told Israeli reporters during a tour of South Lebanon that "we find ourselves very close to the opening of direct political and security negotiations with the Lebanese." He predicted that a peace treaty would be signed.

After a week-end of speculation as to whom Sharon had been talking and about what, the Israeli cabinet announced major concessions December 19.

Most importantly they dropped their previous insistence that Jerusalem and Beirut alternate as venues for talks. Sources in the cabinet told Israeli reporters that any talks are now likely to be held in Europe. The cabinet also endorsed a Sharon "framework agreement" under which Israeli and Syrian forces would pull back from present positions before talks about the next move.

The cabinet said the second stage would be a bilaterally negotiated political and defence treaty. Previously Israel had demanded a political settlement before a pull-out.

Israelis were reportedly "jubilant" when Habib returned from a week-end trip to Beirut saying that the "framework" was "realistic."

The bubble deflated rather than burst. After a meeting with President Amin Gemayel, Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzan told journalists that talks were starting only because Israel had dropped its insistence that Jerusalem be a venue. He ignored the "framework agreement" completely. The Lebanese foreign minister went on record December 20 denying Sharon had met anyone from the Lebanese government before his "breakthrough."

On the same day Gemayel announced he was sending a two person delegation to Arab capitals to explain Lebanon's position on coming talks. All Lebanese officials said that talks with Israel would only take place with the full involvement of the US. Israel had earlier proposed bi-lateral discussions.

The next day Sharon again hit the headlines with an announcement to the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee that Syria had agreed to the separation of forces "to the best of my knowledge."

Lebanese assertions that there would be no political deals with Israel were confirmed when an official working paper was released. The plan, termed a "non-belligerancy pact," outlined a scheme for a complete withdrawal of forces from Lebanon by mid-February 1983. The pact also called for the US, French and Italian forces to be boosted; ruled out any deal with renegade Israeli-backed Major Saad Haddad and reconfirmed Lebanese insistence that the US initiative was the only framework for withdrawal talks.

Announcements from Lebanon said talks were due to

The Committee Against the War in Lebanon asks all to join them in a demonstration against the war in Lebanon under the slogan:

GET OUT OF LEBANON IMMEDIATELY

The demonstration will start at 6:30 pm from the Mann Auditorium and continue to the 'Kings of Israel' Square in Tel Aviv. The Revolutionary Communist League, Abna al-Balad and the Workers League have announced that they will participate in the demonstration. Demonstration: December 25.

ISRAEL STOPS ITS ARMS ADVERTISEMENTS

by Amnon Abramovich

If there is ever any truth in advertising, then it is to be found in those ads issued by the Israel Military Industry (IMI). The company some time ago embarked on a huge advertising campaign in the pages of the international magazines *Aviation Week* and *Interavia* in order to increase sales of its bombs.

The ads are headed:

Bombs you can count on to do what they're supposed to do. That's the only kind of bombs we make.

Further details are given in the body of the ad:

We make bombs for the Israeli Air Force and for the air forces of over twenty countries in the free world. The range of products includes 130 kg, 250 kg, general purpose bombs filled with TNT, Tritonal, H-6 and other explosives. The bombs are built for external carrying. They fit the NATO standard. Bombs for training, smoke bombs with water filling, and bombs for various visual effects.

Dear Client, please contact us before purchasing your next supply. We shall be glad to give you all the information about the perfect complex of our bombs including supporting equipment.

One must be stupid to risk non-Israeli bombs today. Nobody wants to buy unknown merchandise. Nowadays, when the entire world can see how our bombs do exactly what they are supposed to do, the Israel Military Industry could save itself the cost of its advertisements. So I told IMI spokesman Mr. Evron that the ads were a waste of money. He said they had stopped the ads. (Translated from Ma'ariv, October 20, 1982)

15th Christmas Under Occupation

O, LITTLE TOWN OF GUNS AND SOLDIERS

by Daoud Kuttab

Israeli soldiers on Christmas patrol in Bethlehem

If reports and statements by the Israeli authorities are correct, this Christmas will be the first year since the Israeli occupation that alcohol will be barred from Manger Square in Bethlehem. According to George Samur, head of the tourist office in Bethlehem, the authorities have finally responded to local community and Christian leaders' complaints. The Christmas eve celebrations in the square, full of drunken kibbutz members and volunteers have looked more like rock concerts or a football match than a religious celebration over the few years, locals complain. Police and border patrol guards who normally conduct a security check on all visitors will reportedly prevent the introduction of alcoholic beverages. Shops and restaurants in the area will be barred from selling alcohol this Christmas season. Bethlehem municipality secretary, Jamal Salman, was sceptical whether these orders will in fact be fully executed or not.

Strict restrictions have been placed on the Bethlehem area during Christmas seasons since 1967. Roads to the city are closed except for special busses and taxis. Locals can drive their private cars if they obtain a special permit from the Bethlehem area military government. Visitors must pick up special Israeli busses from Talpiot area Christmas eve. The Manger Square area is tightly sealed off during Christmas eve with visitors and pilgrims having to be frisked carefully upon entry.

The annual traditional Christmas festivities will be the same this year as in the past. The Patriarchs of the Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Churches will start their processional entry to Bethlehem about 12:45 pm on December 24, January 7 and January 18 for the denominations respectively. The traditonal event, featuring the patriarchs driven by limousines and led by horses starts from Mar Elias to the entrance of Bethlehem near Rachel's Tomb where the patriarch is met by the deputy mayor of Bethlehem and the mayors of Beit Sahour and Beit Jala as well as the military governor and police chief of Bethlehem.

The procession continues to Manger Square were the patriarch is met by the mayor of Bethlehem, members of the municipal council, religious leaders and notables. After the patriarch enters the Church of Nativity, boy scout groups from Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Beit Jala, Jerusalem, Ramallah and Jaffa parade in front of locals, visitors and dignitaries. Official festivities start again about 8:00 pm in the Manger Square with Christmas carols sung by foreign and local groups. This year the festival includes three groups from France, one from Sweden and one from the United States. Local groups include choirs from the First Baptist Church in Bethlehem, the Good Shepherds Swedish School, and the Holy Land Christian Mission School. Midnight mass held in the Church of Nativity is broadcast to the audience in the square over a huge video screen.

Head of the Bethlehem tourist office, George Samur, who expects a low tourist turnout this season, told *Al Fajr* that his complaints to lift the tight security measures placed on the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Christmas Eve celebrations have gone unheard. "Hardly anyone gathers in the square on January 7 and 19, yet tight security measures remain in effect for the three Christmas celebrations." The tourist office does not plan Christmas carols except for the Catholic Eve.

Samur explained to *Al Fajr* that the tourist office will be open from 8:00 am till 2:00 pm on the three Christmas Eves. The office, with qualified Arab multilingual assistants, can supply needed information for all inquiries. Maps and literature are distributed free. The post office in Manger Square will be open all night for providing special Christmas Eve stamps on letters and postcards. Telephone lines with direct overseas connections are available for individuals interested in contacting families or friends.

On a different note Samur explained that the Israeli officer in charge of tourism has not allowed his office to issue guide licenses to Palestinian guides since 1967. His office issues licenses, according to Jordanian law, to all tourism related shops, hotels and restaurants. An attempt to start a branch at Bethlehem University to train Palestinians guides failed when the Israli authorities insisted on Israeli teachers for the course.

Nazareth Municipality

The Nazareth municipality has decided this year to cancel all celebrations of Christmas it usually conducts "in protest and mourning with the Palestinian and Lebanese victims" according to a press statement. The cancelation covers annual parties, special lighting arrangements and the Santa Claus tour of the city which are arranged annually by the municipality.

Israeli newspapers have reported that hundreds of Lebanese, not Palestinan , Christians will be arriving from Lebanon by land and sea for the first time since 1967.

Court Bans Work On Land

The Israeli High Court issued an order nisi December 17 barring the Israeli military authorities from working on two plots of land belonging to residents of Zababdeh, Taffit, and Raba, near Jenin, which were ordered confiscated in the first week of December. The order nisi was issued on the request of 64 residents of the three villages whose land was grabbed. It requires the Israeli military authorities to explain the reasons for the land confiscation.

The land grab was issued on the pretext of "security requirements." No written confiscation order was handed to the landowners, villagers say. In her petition to the Israeli High Court, December 15 the land owners' lawyer, Felicia Langer, said that the land grabbing serves to supply land for settlement building in the occupied territories.

In related news, the Israeli High Court issued another order nisi barring the Israeli authorities from working on grabbed land in Allar, in the Tulkarm area. The land grabbing was carried out in late November, and landowners have since learned that the Israeli military authorities are planning to open a road to a military camp in the area. The Israeli authorities took over the 24 dunums and began preparing it for the road immediately. In the course of work olive and almond trees were uprooted. (Translation' All Local dailies December 20, and Jerusalem Post, December 19, 1982)

New Campaigns Against W B Unions

The Israeli military authorities closed down the Construction and Public Institutions Employees Union headquarters in Ramallah, December 16, for two months.

The closure order which was handed to the union's lawyer, Mousa Shukri, on December 20, stated that the Union office is to be closed for 60 days because that is "necessary for the safety of the public, the Israeli army, and for security."

The union headquarters were raided by Israeli soldiers, December 16, as 40 workers were attending a Hebrew language lesson. The Israeli soldiers took the ID numbers of those who were in the building and told them to go to the military headquarters later on. The soldiers also arrested the secretary of the union, Basem Barghouti, and detained him at Ramallah military headquarters. He is still there.

The next day, December 17, Israeli soldiers visited the union office for the second time and confiscated the files. The soldiers also nailed the door shut.

A special conference on unemployment, which was planned by the General Federation of Unions at the union office in Ramallah was cancelled.

In Jerusalem, Israeli Shin Bet agents have been visiting the offices of the Hotel Employees Union, as happened on December 15 and 16, in an attempt, unionists say, to terrorise the workers and keep them away from the union. (Translation: Al Talia, December 23, 1982)

iNT'L CONSENSUS ON PALESTINIAN STATE

The UN General Assembly passed two resolutions, December 20, calling for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and condemning Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory. Three days earlier, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution calling on member states to impose collective sanctions on Israel for "its failure to carry out its duties as a member of the international body."

The resolution on the right of the Palestinian people was sponsored by 26 non-aligned countries and was approved by 123 votes, with Israel and the US opposing. It calls for UN sponsored talks in order to achieve a "just and lasting peace in the Middle East" and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

The second resolution was presented by Cuba, and five other non-aligned nations. It passed 113 votes to 17, with 15 abstentions. It reaffirms the right of the Palestinian people to independence, and denounces the Israeli-US strategic cooperation agreement. It also urges member states to suspend military,economic and financial aid to Israel.

Earlier in the week, the UN General Assembly passed a similar resolution calling on the member states to boycott Israel. The resolution states that it has been proved that Israel does not seek peace, therefore all member states should suspend their weapons deals with it. It also urges the member states to suspend economic and financial aid to Israel, and to sever diplomatic relations with it. The resolution was supported by 87 states, opposed by 22 with 31 abstentions.

(Translation: Al Fajr, December 18, and 22, 1982)

LOST PASSPORT

A Venezuelan passport belonging to Muhammad Lutfi Sheikh was lost on the Ein Yabroud-Jerusalem road, December 17.

The number of the Passport

is 1603-250

Anyone who finds it please inform the nearest police station or the offices of Al Fajr's agent in Ramallah Tel. 953001.

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Publisher: Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor: H. S. Siniora
Hatem al-Ta'ee Street
Tel: (02) 281035
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CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

Never let it be said that the Israeli occupation authorities have lost their ability to surprise! This week, out of the blue, al-Bireh's three house arrestees were suddenly released, after nearly 30 months! We wish them well, of course.

There are three current theories going the rounds about the reason for the shock move. The trio themselves attributed their good luck to popular international and international pressure. "Security sources," through their mouthpiece in The Jerusalem Post, advanced two more. First they hint that the three have given up politics and are therefore safe. A preposterous suggestion, for how can a newspaper editor and a mayor cry off a political life?

Alternatively, the Post tells us, the three "radicals" will run around the area and undermine a so-called growing wave of pro-Jordanian sentiment which Israel finds threatening. As the wave of pro-Jordanian sentiment only exists on the pages of the western newspapers, The Jerusalem Post, and among a very small circle of West Bankers who conduct virtually no public activities, this seems barely credible.

We do not have a "theory" about the release, but we would suggest that perhaps the move is further evidence of the growing independence of action of military governors. The governors are extremely powerful people, making virually all decisions affecting their subjects. Since the advent of the 'civil administration' they have attained the status of feudal lords – the "coordinator" for the occupied territories quit shortly after Menahem Milson hit the headlines.

Now, for instance, a governor can ban the distribution of a newspaper in his fief in defiance of a court order that distribution be permitted in the whole of the occupied territories. We have witnessed several times in the past few months one military governor closing shops in his area while another was opening them in his. Israeli newspapers frequently carry minute stories on inside pages about senior officials accused of collecting tribute in cash or kind from their subjects.

Even as house detentions were being lifted in al-Bireh, another martyr was made in Nablus . . . . . .

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The explanation for why the three al-Bireh residents were freed is only in the head of the military commander of the central region. While this, and the same explanation holds for most events here, is the case, it seems irrational to try and attribute too complex a motive to any single act, either of clemency or repression. When a man becomes all-powerful, "surprises" are inevitable.

The Dawn

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Washington Again On The Map

By Ghassan Bishara
Washington DC, Correspondent

WASHINGTON DC – King Hussein of Jordan is once again in Washington. High hopes are being attached to his presence here by the US government. The US administration would like King Hussein to enter the Middle East negotiations for peace, thus injecting new life into the long-frozen process.

"It is not a make-or-break visit," a senior administration official said of Hussein's visit, "but," he continued, "it is a very important one." It is believed here that Hussein is a necessary partner, and if he does agree to enter the talks, it would be hard for Begin to refuse to return to the negotiation process.

Hussein is known to have reservations about the peace talks. First, despite his strong and loyal army there is pressure in the Hashemite kingdom from the Palestinians who make up about 70 percent of the Jordanian population. The Palestinians are highly politicised and relatively sophisticated group with clear and known sympathies for the PLO and its objectives. Hussein is also heavily reliant on Arab oil money without which the kingdom would not be able to function. Hussein is believed to be critical of US politics in the Middle East, mainly because of US treatment of Jordan as an unpredictable ally, and because of exaggerated US support for Israel.

Unofficially US officials are well-aware of these Jordanian handicaps and most importantly, the PLO's potential for creating trouble in Jordan. They are also aware that in Arab eyes, only the PLO can negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians. The US, therefore, is hoping that Hussein will have extracted from PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat the authority to enter the talks and speak for the Palestinians.

It is likely to be a vain hope, however. Commenting on local speculation, a Washington based Palestinian official told **Al Fajr**: "It is totally out of the question" that PLO leaders would forego that right to any Arab leader. Some sources here say that a possible way to break the present negotiating impasse would be the creation of a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation which would include respected leaders mostly from the occupied territories. This delegation, speculators say, would be hard for Israel to reject, and would be acceptable to the PLO. Camp David does specify such a role for the inhabitants of the territories.

When a senior administration official was asked specifically if the expelled mayors of Halhoul and Hebron, Muhammad Milhem and Fahd Qawasmeh, would be acceptable to the US, he said that the Secretary of State's meeting with them while they were in Washington recently should indicate how the US views their role. The two expelled mayors, with their known sympathy for the PLO and its objectives, are also said to be welcomed by PLO leaders to play such a role. If agreed upon, and signs show that pending Israeli approval, all is agreed upon, issues such as PLO recognition of Israel, or of UN Security Council Resolution 242 and 338, which do not mention the Palestinians, would be by-passed, since the PLO would not be involved directly.

Israel, however, is a stumbling block. Senior cabinet ministers have repeatedly stressed that they will not talk to the PLO even if it recognises Israel. It has rejected the Reagan peace plan and called on him to withdraw it.

The US hopes that Israeli public opinion and the American Jewish Community, will convince Begin to take the Reagan plan seriously.

Hussein's visit to Washington, and the fact that Khaled al-Hassan, FATAH Central Committee member and advisor to Arafat, is staying at the same hotel, signifies the intensity of the talks taking place. The king, it was stated at White House briefings by a senior administration official, will meet again with Reagan before his return to Jordan. **The New York Times** described the proposed meetings between the King and Reagan as "one of the more interesting conversations of our era."

RED CROSS OR RED ANGRY?

by Ahmad al-Urobi

The International Committee of the Red Cross is charged with protection of prisoners' rights and as such, the Swiss-based organisation has offices all over the world. Palestinians are more than a little resentful, however, of the ICRC's role here and complaints against the organisation are legion.

Fundamentally, prisoners complain that the ICRC's agreement with the Israelis not to see prisoners until they're been held for two weeks means they are tortured, confessions extracted and the worst signs of mistreatment gone before they have access to ICRC visitors.

Families are frustrated that the ICRC's secrecy code – they only report to governments about mistreatment – keeps them and the rest of the world in the dark about what happens behind bars. Some ICRC workers have a tendency, complainants say, to view prisoner's families as enemies rather than those they are supposed to help.

The ICRC's reaction to incidents at Beer Sheba jail is a case in point. The ICRC has a rule that they do not allow press conferences at their offices. The usual procedure, then, is for journalists to go to their offices to inform clients of their presence and talk to them outside on stairs and balconies.

Al Fajr's reporter, cognisant of procedure, was somewhat taken aback then to find a new, more aggressive stance in evidence. After about 60 seconds at the ICRC, and after having found an excellent informant, he was assailed by a local employee who went through chapter and verse of the rules. Stepping outside the offices with two or three of the women, however, was not enough, this time. About five minutes into a conversation a rather angry young (presumably) Swiss left his office – in which over 100 people wanted to know what was going on at Beer Sheba – to deal with the *Al Fajr* threat.

That is, he no doubt would have, if he could have, waited a few minutes. Our reporter first became aware of his presence when he started pushing a young woman down a flight of stairs into the crowd around him. A rather violent way of gaining attention.

The Tel Aviv central office for the ICRC informed *Al Fajr* later that they have a policy against allowing press conferences on the premises but agreed that the unnamed official seemed to have over-reached this mandate. The Tel Aviv office apologised to *Al Fajr* who suggested the apology could be better placed with the young woman.

A small incident, but perhaps indicative of present client-office relations. Before the assault, one woman, asked what ICRC had done to help her family replied, "Nothing. You know them. They're just playing with the telephone."

OPINION

THE NARROW GATE OF JUSTICE

by Amos Elon

The massive settlement actions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip continue. An official spokesman boasts that the situation there is "irreversible", i.e. that these territories — but not their Arab inhabitants — are already an integral part of the state of Israel.

Therefore, with every day that passes, the question of the political, social and moral regime in "Greater" (Eretz) Israel becomes more and more burning. There isn't a more important question today, and in spite of this, we are repressing the debate on it, out of fatalism or hypocrisy, shame or fear, or intellectual idleness.

But the question remains, no matter how we try to forget or to repress it, it exists by virtue of statistics and a political and human reality in which oppression and terror increase and justify each other but don't solve anything. Are we going to become a Rhodesia, which collapsed under pressure? Or like South Africa which still holds on, having large resources which enable it to be ostracised and to withstand prolonged isolation? The essence of this question touches the taboo — like sex or perspiration in a Victorian novel. Many are those who refuse to deal with it, who find it hard to acknowledge its existence, according to the old German-bourgeois principle that "what is forbidden to happen, will not happen."

* * * * *

In the meanwhile we already live in this "Greater" Israel, in a "lords democracy," ruling over a large population from another nation, deprived of any rights, including the most elementary civil rights. One population lives in a parliamentary republic, the second under a totalitarian regime. One lives in a more or less free law-abiding state. The other in a police state acting by means of arbitrary commandos, which are not, in most cases, under parliamentary control.

Today, already, two legal systems exist here — one territorial, for Israelis as such from both sides of the Green Line, (the pre-1967 borders), the other personal, for the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria (the West Bank) and Gaza Strip only. We enjoy the freedom of speech, writing and publishing. They don't. We are allowed to organise and to express ourselves politically; they are forbidden. We live and move freely in all parts of Eretz Israel; they are confined to their areas of residence, like the Jews of Tzarist Russia once (lived), or like the Blacks of South Africa (live) today. Like the Blacks in South Africa, they are forbidden, when not having a special permit, to work or sleep outside their residential areas. They are forbidden to purchase assets on this side of the Green Line, while we can buy there any place we wish. We can do this, in most cases, with government financial aid. Land is expropriated only from them, to be handed over to us, never the opposite. According to the official doctrine, public lands must in most cases, serve only our social aims, never theirs. We enjoy fat public budgets and absolute academic freedom in our universities. They don't. They have to finance their universities with contributions from abroad. Their universities are occasionally closed down by force of administrative orders that cannot be appealed against. Their professors are forced to sign political commitments; if not — they are expelled from the country. We lead our day-to-day lives, in almost all cases, in the framework of more or less liberal laws, legislated for us by the parliament that we elected; by contrast, they live almost always under the heavy burden of more or less arbitrary — or draconian — orders issued by military governors, based on the mandatory law, once defined by Begin himself as "Nazi."

For the same transgressions there are different punishments for Jews and Arabs: the physical hurt of an Arab is cheaper than that of a Jew. We get punished only for deeds; they are punished also for "opinions." Only they are punished with exile to another area, house arrest or expulsion abroad. Only they are in danger of losing their right to return to the country if they stay for more than one year abroad. Only they will stand military trial behind closed doors and will be found guilty without knowing what they are accused of. Only they are to expect collective punishment: the fathers will pay for the sins of their children and the opposite. The suspects' houses will be blown up, their means of livelihood will be obstructed, the electricity or water supply of entire villages will be cut off only because they don't join the Village League which the government holds in affection.

People will be taken out of their beds in the middle of the night and forced to stand outside, in cold and rain, 'till dawn or until the wearers of uniforms will decide that they have finished the punishment.

* * * * *

I am not talking here about what is called in the Israeli army "irregularities." I am talking about routine. And the routine becomes more and more severe from one year to the next. This routine is now in the hands of a dull and sometimes brutal army bureaucracy, able to think only in terms of bribes or violence. The routine was more humane during the first years because there was still a belief that the occupation was a transitional stage. This illusion disappeared a long time ago. In its 16th year, it looks more permanent than ever. Every day that passes brings us closer to an apartheid state.

What is surprising is that many still feel offended by this word, and they are absolutely sincere. "This is not apartheid, this is security," they say. Or: "The Arabs should accept the autonomy plan"; but those who say so did not bother to read what we proposed to the Arabs in this plan — less than the South Africans have given the residents in the Bantustans.

The associative connection of certain similarities to the Nazis annoy many people and they are ready to protest against "irregularities" or even against much more terrible deeds, but without the associative load. Thus (according to Aharon Bachar in *Yediot Ahranot*) the old Israel Galili hurried to Menachem Begin to complain with tears in his eyes about the soldier who forced an Arab to write a number on his arm; a monstrous deed, without doubt, but less painful and fatal (although more associative) than the killing of 14-year-old boys in the street, for which Galili never went to Begin to protest. (Translation: Haaretz, December 1, 1982)

TOWARDS AN APARTHEID STATE

by Abu Yonis

"If we have the right to return to the land after 2000 years, shouldn't Wajeeh Mustafa have the right to return after 23 years?" Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer asked the honourable High Court judges. But High Court judges do not recognize logic. High Court judges acknowledge only law.

According to law, the case of Wajeeh Mustafa is simple to settle. His crime is obvious. For seven years he has been living on his land without permission. The penalty is already stated: expulsion.

In 1958 Wajeeh Saleh Muhammad Mustafa left the village of Deir Ballout in the Tulkarm area where he had been born 26 years earlier. He went to Venezuela, South America to seek his fortune. There, he met his wife, Gwana Yousfeena Martenz Mustafa. They had three children while staying in her country, which never gave him citizenship. Eventually his health deteriorated and rheumatism made it impossible for him to continue to work.

His Own Land

Still, he had his share of the land of Deir Ballout: his inheritance from his parents. What else should he do other than return to his sister's and work his land with them — the land which in turn he would give to his children, and they to their children?

Wajeeh Mustafa did what one might expect him to do. He returned to his land. The year was 1975. There his wife gave birth to another child.

Wajeeh Mustafa was back home. Only he had to come as a visitor. In the meantime there had been new masters over the land. They told him he was a visitor, but nevertheless left him and his family alone for seven years.

So Wajeeh Mustafa tended the olive trees of his ancestors and supported himself and his family on the income. He was a burden to nobody. In a decent society he would have been granted whatever lesser rights he claimed.

Fatal Mistake

Wajeeh Mustafa did one day commit a crime, for which the new masters of the land give no pardon. The powers there had set up new borders and frontiers, some of which are invisible. Wajeeh Mustafa crossed one of them and so he found himself arrested in Petah Tikva. Thus the powers that be were reminded of his existence. First they held him in jail for eight days. Then, time and again, the family was summoned. They were ordered to leave — to leave their land and any territory over which the powers there claim sovereignty.

When Wajeeh Mustafa explained to the powers that an expulsion to Venezuela or anywhere else in the world would mean his certain starvation they detained him for not obeying orders. They also detained Gwana Yousfeena, leaving the children without the proper care of their parents.

Weak Legacy

On behalf of the couple, lawyer Felicia Langer appealed against the deportation order. She also asked that Gwana be released on bail, to care for the children. The government's representative asked that her last claim be denied for very obvious reasons: "She cannot be released for fear that she might then hide the children!"

"This is legally a weak case," Felicia Langer admitted. But the High judges found reason in her claim. They were willing to release the mother — on a bail that was set at IS250,000. So are the edicts of the High Court judges — in the spirit of their ancient king, the wise Solomon — they release her on bail, but make sure she cannot leave confinement.

Not Happy

In the courtroom were the lawyer and her assistant, three judges and three representatives of the powers that be, with their lawyer. The representatives of the omnipotent powers did not look happy. There were onlookers, press-people. They were going to publicise what was said. How much more comfortable are the closed courts handling the security matters!

But then the appeal of Wajeeh Mustafa is weak, even if by some reason there were no security claims. There is hardly any international opposition. Hardly any internal either, that will have much chance to be heard. The judges and the representatives of the powers that be, may take it easy. When Wajeeh Mustafa starves to death in a far away place, they will probably not even be told. And who then will blame them?

WEEKLY REVIEW

Student votes at December 18 Bir Zeit University student council elections/SG

December 15, 1982

MURDER CHARGE

TEL AVIV — An Israeli court presented the indictment sheet against Asher Rabi, an Israeli recently arrested while trying to climb the walls of a monastary near Jacob's Well in Nablus, in the area of Balata camp. He was charged with killing a monk some years ago, and later attempting to kill a nun.

LAND APPEAL

JENIN — Sixty four land owners in Zababdeh, Talfit and Rabbu villages presented an appeal to the Israeli High Court against the military governor of the West Bank asking the court to issue an order cancelling the confiscation of their land. The appeal was filed by lawyer Felicia Langer.

The Israeli authorities informed landowners in the area that a strip of land between Zababdeh and Rabbu villages 200 meters wide and 2.5 kilometers long was confiscated.

SETTLEMENT COUNCIL CRITICISES WZO

The Israeli Settlement Council in the West Bank and Gaza Strip strongly criticised the resolutions of the world organisation not to support settlement activities in the occupied territories and to use money to renovate slum areas. The settlement council said that immigration to Israel and settlements are the basic principles of Zionism.

RETURN OF TEACHERS

HEBRON — It was decided here by the military education authorities that the headmistress of Dura secondary school, Amne Umro, and the principal of the Ghazi secondary school, Mahmoud Naji, will be allowed back to their positions.

NO NEW HOMES

KHAN YUNIS — The Israeli military government ordered the Khan Yunis municipal council not to issue building licenses to more than 100 families who live in the refugee camps of the Gaza Strip in the Hai al-Amal (government) residential project. These families had their houses demolished in the camps by the authorities and later were offered pieces of land in the residential project site. Each of them had only 200 squaremeters land to build their houses on.

December 16, 1982

HADDAD'S AID KILLED

Muhammad Ali Shabak, one of the leaders of Major Sa'ad Haddad's Israeli backed militia in South Lebanon, was killed as a result of a car bomb. The bomb went off when he started his car, blowing him and it to pieces.

LATE CELEBRATION

TULKARM — The Union of Secondary School Students in Tulkarm held a festival to mark the Day of the Palestinian Teacher which falls on December 14.

NO SALE

TEL AVIV — Israeli companies started to bring back the prefabricated houses that were taken to South Lebanon to be sold to Palestinian refugees. Refugees have refused to buy the houses, reports say.

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION TO SETTLEMENTS

JERUSALEM — The Supreme Islamic Council issued a statement expressing deep concern over the continued policy of establishing Israeli settlements on Arab land. The statement noted that the goal of the Israeli authorities is to impose a new status quo "on the whole world."

December 17, 1982

HEBRON WEST BANK SOCCER CHAMPS

HEBRON — The Hebron Youth Sports Club became West Bank soccer champions when they resumed their place at the top of the first division. The Hebron club beat Beit Sahour 3:0 in a game at St. George's School Field in Jerusalem. The Hebron club took first place with 81 points after their last victory. Meanwhile, Silwan beat Ahli al-Khalil 4:0 sealing their relegation from the first division.

FIRE IN AN ISRAELI SHIP

ASHDOD — A fire broke out in the Israeli ship Carmel Mountain in the Ashdod port. The fire caused extensive damage to the ship. There was no explanation for the blaze.

ISRAELI COMMUNIST MOSCOW BOUND

TEL AVIV — A delegation representating the Israeli Communist Party left for the Soviet Union to participate in the 60th annual celebration of the establishment of the Soviet Union. The delegation consisted of MK Meir Wilner, secretary of the party and Emile Touma, member of the politburo.

LECTURE ON GRADUATE PROBLEMS

JERUSALEM — A seminar on the problems of Arab graduates and ways of absorbing them into proper jobs was conducted in the Graduates Club. Attendants came out with a number of recommendations which are going to be worked into studies of the problem.

HIGH TAXES

NABLUS — The customs department in Nablus summoned several merchants in the town and imposed high taxes on them.

December 18, 1982

ANOTHER VILLAGE COUNCIL HEAD SACKED

The Israeli authorities dismissed the head of Burqin village council near Nablus, Hussein Ali Abed Hamid Samara, from his post. Deputy village council head, Abed al-Jalil Abd al-Rahman, was also fired from his post. The order was conveyed to the council head and his deputy in the form of a written letter which stated that they were dismissed in accordance with paragraph 5 (a) of article 5 of the Jordanian village administration laws.

Three members and the secretary of the village council presented their resignation but they were rejected. The Israeli authorities appointed Mousa Abd al-Razaq, a newly appointed mukhtar to head the new village council, and Ahmad Abd al-Hadi as his deputy.

BOOSTING SETTLERS

TEL AVIV — *Davar* reported that the Israeli government is trying to persuade Oriental Jews to settle in the already established settlements in the Nablus area as well as in the settlements which will be established in the future. It is known that almost all settlers in the occupied territories are Western Jews.

A plan has also been inaugurated in order to observe and regulate the price of houses in the settlements.

NO TRIP TO CAIRO

BEIRUT — The Lebanese newspaper, *Al Safir*, affirmed that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat will not visit Egypt during the coming period. Such a visit would complicate internal Palestinian relations and Palestinian-Arab relations. The last visit to Egypt by Arafat was on the November 10, 1977.

LESS HAPPY XMAS

JERUSALEM — Israeli sources reported that the number of tourists who are going to attend Christmas celebrations in Bethlehem will be down by 28 percent from previous years' figures.

LABOUR MK WANTS TO SETTLE IN TABA

TEL AVIV — Israel radio announced that Michael Bar Zohar, a Labour MK, has called for the establishment of an Israeli settlement on the Taba shore in the Gulf of Aqaba. The radio continued that the member of Knesset wants 150 Jewish families to settle in Taba.

The Taba area, where a big Israeli hotel was opened recently, constitutes a source of controversy between the Israeli and Egyptian governments. Egypt is requesting that the continued Israeli occupation of the area be terminated.

December 19, 1982

TWO SENTENCED

The Israeli military court

Dabkeh troupe performs at Bir Zeit University during popular celebration, December 20/SG

in Ramallah sentenced Said Mustafa Wahdan, from Ain Arik, to six years jail after finding him guilty on charges of membership of the PLO and receiving military training in Lebanon. Abdel Hadi Hassan Shahwan, who was found guilty of membership charges, was sentenced to two years imprisonment.

NO XMAS IN NAZARETH

NAZARETH — Nazareth municipality decided to cancel Christmas celebrations and the traditional reception for Christmas pilgrims. The municipality said the cancellation was in respect for those who were killed and who are still being killed in South Lebanon and for those who died in the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

LAND GRAB HELD

RAMALLAH — The military advisory committee in Ramallah discussed the appeal made by the owners of Kufr Thilth village, Tulkarm area, against the confiscation of 50 dunums of land three weeks ago. The committee issued an order nisi, against the guard of absentee property, lasting for 45 days during which time the owners of the land should prove that it is theirs. Israeli authorities confiscated 1500 dunums in the area claiming that it is state land.

BOOK FAIR

BETHLEHEM — The annual book exhibition organised by the cultural committee of the Bethlehem student council was attended by many people and turned out to be a great success.

MORE GRABS!

GAZA — The military governor of Gaza issued three military orders to farmers obliging them to give details about their crops, land and water resources.

ISRAELI JEEP TURNS OVER NEAR BIR ZEIT

RAMALLAH — Eyewitnesses have reported that an Israeli military jeep was seen turning over on the Ramallah-Bir Zeit road. The jeep was carrying a number of Israeli soldiers and overturned near a military check post set up outside Bir Zeit University.

December 20, 1928

NO GO AREAS

A curfew was re-imposed on al-Qasabeh, Nablus. The last one was lifted two days ago. Israeli radio reported that student demonstrations took place in some schools in Nablus and several Israeli cars were stoned. Balata refugee camp is under curfew for the sixth consecutive day. In al-Bireh, Israeli authorities closed the main entrances to the Am'ari refugee camp after stones were thrown at passing vehicles.

FREE AT LAST

RAMALLAH-AL-BIREH — Israeli police summoned Ibrahim Tawil, mayor of al-Bireh, Bashir Barghouti, editor of Al Talia, and Samiha Khalil head of the In'ash al-Usra Society to meet the governor of Ramallah and al-Bireh. They were accompanied by their lawyer, Felicia Langer. During the meeting they were informed of the decision by Uri Orr, commander of the central district, that the town arrest orders they have been restricted under since August 7, 1980 have been lifted.

Mushab Sha'ath, 75, under the crushed remains of his Rafah home, destroyed November 29 by the Israeli authorities. They say he built without a permit. He says the nearby Israeli settlement of Moraj wants to expand /HW

NEW ESCALATION COMING

News agencies reported that Israeli forces have reinforced their troops in the Beqa'a Valley in Lebanon and Israeli war planes flew over the area and the southern and Jabal regions. Israeli reinforcements have been increasing for several days now and they have established new bases for Israeli artillery and tanks.

WASHING HANDS

WASHINGTON — It has been made known that the US Congress took a decision last week to form a special committee to define the extent of US responsibility for the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

December 21, 1982

MORE, MORE, MORE...

TEL AVIV — Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon declared that 24 Nahal, military agricultural, settlements have been established in the West Bank and another 14 will be established shortly. Speaking before the security committee of the Knesset, Sharon said it is hoped that some 40,000 settlers will be settled in the West Bank by the coming summer. Sharon said that this will be the guarantee for the autonomy plan and not for any other solution. Sharon refused an American proposal to have negotiations with Lebanon to put forward the American president's peace plan for the area.

NOT TO ANSAR

An Israeli military court sentenced an Israeli soldier to seven months imprisonment, four of which are suspended, after finding him guilty of firing at prisoners in Ansar detention camp, South Lebanon and wounding one in the hand.

FREIJ REITERATES

BETHELEHEM — Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij sent a message to President Reagan and King Hussein asking them to push forward peace negotiations for the West Bank. Freij told Agence France Presse that if nothing is achieved within the coming few months then the situation in the occupied territories will be "unchangeable and irreversible." He was pointing specifically to the increasing number of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

NEW SETTLEMENT

GAZA — Israeli occupation authorities established a new settlement in Gaza to absorb the Israeli settlers who were recently evicted from Yamit. Israeli authorities intend to establish another settlement in Gaza to accomodate another 500 families. The settlements will be built on land confiscated from Arabs.

TWO ISRAELIS DEAD IN LEBANON

TEL AVIV — An Israeli military spokesman reported that two Israeli officers were killed when a mine exploded on a road near the Syrian-Israeli front lines in Lebanon.

High Court Rejects 95% Land Cases Of Landowners

"Ninety-five percent of the land cases brought by landowners in the West Bank are rejected by the High Court which is connected to the government," said Meron Benvenisti, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, in the course of a lecture about settlements in the West Bank, during an international peace forum held in Tel Aviv December 17. He also said that Palestinian land in the West Bank has been grabbed under different pretexts to build settlements. Benvenisti made clear that the Israeli authorities do not have a problem of land but the main problem, he said, is the availability of settlers. "Because of this, the government is urging Israelis, even those who do not share Gush Emunim's ideology, to go and live in the suburbs of Jerusalem."

According to the former Israeli deputy mayor the yearly budget allocated by the Israeli government to the now 25,000 settlers is US $200 million while only US $26 million is allocated to the 700,000 West Bank Palestinian population.

Regarding Gush Emunim, he said that this group will be a lobby to foil any attempt towards a compromise on the future of the West Bank. "I am taking seriously the fact that 100,000 Israelis will be settled in the coming 15 years in the West Bank," he warned.

He said that a dual system is being created in the West Bank and that it just needs expanding. He pointed out that there are local councils controlled by Gush Emunim and the civil administration.

In connection to the Gush Emunim he said that they form a state within a state. He pointed out that Gush Emunim are autonomous and that they have their own development plans, their own budget and they can take any land they like. On the civil administration, Benvenisti commented, "it is given all powers in the West Bank." He also noted that the Jewish population in the area is living under civil authority while the Palestinian population is living under military authority.

Settlers Owe Hebron IS500,000

Hebron municipality complained December 18 that it is owed IS500,000 in fees for water and electricity by about 300 Israeli settlers living in the Hisbeh, Daboyya building and Usama Ben Munqith school, in the heart of the town. Mustafa Natshe, acting mayor of Hebron, told *Al Fajr* that the local Israeli military headquarters used to pay the bills "but that for 18 months they have not paid." The *Jerusalem Post*, an Israeli newspaper, reported December 19 that the local council of Kiryat Arba', the West Bank's largest settlement situated outside Hebron, has threatened to remove an electricity pylon which supplies Hebron with power which they claim, "passes through its area of jurisdiction."

Mustafa Natshe said the *Post*'s claim is "nonsense." He said the settlers do not have an ownership document for any plot of land they confiscated in Hebron. "We do not want to connect the electricity in Hebron with the Israeli electrical grid," Natshe stressed, "and are demanding permission to import electricity generators and to use the generating station belonging to the municipality."

Soldier Caught Beating Students

The Israeli military authorities plan to prosecute an Israeli soldier believed responsible for the abusive treatment of Bir Zeit University students detained in Fara'a prison near Jenin several months ago, lawyer Felicia Langer announced December 20.

Langer explained that she received the information in a letter from the Israeli military attorney-general. The letter was in response to Langer's complaint about inhuman conditions at the detention center. The protest was sent July 29 to the legal advisor of the West Bank military governorate and to Israeli Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir. Langer documented her charge with a statement by several BZU students who were subjected to severe treatment during their detention. The students testified that Israeli soldiers forced them to stand with their hands high for long periods of time. They were beaten if they dropped their hands, the statement adds.

According to the students, those who requested to see the prison director to complain about their treatment from the guards, were severely beaten in front of all the other prisoners.

The Israeli attorney general's letter did not mention the name or rank of the soldier whom they plan to prosecute, or when he will be brought to trial.

INTERVIEW WITH UDI ADIV, ISRAELI POLITICAL PRISONER

"Change In Israeli Society... Must Be From The Inside"

by Yuela Har-Shvi
translated from Monitin

In 1973, Udi Adiv was tried and convicted of violating the security of the state of Israel. He was sentenced to 17 years imprisonment. So far Adiv has spent 10 years in prison. What was his crime?

Did he pass information to the enemy in return for money? Did he commit an act of sabotage? Place an explosive charge? Cause injury or death to any person from Israel?

He did none of these things yet his action was considered an unprecendented dangerous action. He decided to push history in the direction he believes in and so founded an Arab-Jewish revolutionary vanguard to prepare for a socialist revolution. With this idea he travelled to Syria to meet Palestinian revolutionaries who share his thinking. Only after his detention, following his return to the country, did it become clear to him that the "revolutionaries" were actually from the Syrian intelligence service.

The question we ask today is not if the punishment imposed on him is proportionate to the seriousness of the action. Udi Adiv has served two-thirds of his sentence. The denial of his right to a one-third reduction of his term means trying him anew — this time not because of any action he has committed, but because of his ideas.

During the 10 years of his imprisonment Adiv was not given one day of leave or even one hour. His demand for leave to marry was turned down. In the statement which he enclosed with the leave request, Adiv wrote: "I have been always against all kinds of sabotage and terror. I have never harmed any person, never intended to do anything like this and never committed any sabotage operation. I understand that what I did in the past was wrong. I never intended to spy, to sabotage or to establish ties with the Syrian intelligence service."

Uri Adiv, Udi's father says, "What benefit will society gain from his continued imprisonment? His stay in the jail will never change his world perspective. Even if he stays there another seven years it won't break him and his way of thinking."

Q: Do you regret the action for which you were convicted?

Adiv: The word 'regret' means in religion or in law that a person is sorry or he feels remorse for an evil action he committed. It is an internal feeling which a person manifests in words only before a priest or a judge. From this legal and religious perspective I am not sorry. But from a political point of view, I would criticise myself, and severely.

Q: If you could turn back the clock, how would you act towards achieving your objectives? What are your objectives? Have they changed?

Adiv: In a general and principled way, if I used to believe that change in Israeli society could be implemented from outside by the Palestinians and the progressive Arab regimes with the help of revolutionary Jewish individuals, today — especially after the latest giant demonstration in Tel Aviv — I am completely convinced of the opposite. Change in Israeli society, as in any other class society, must be done from the inside, by the Jewish and Palestinian masses together. I stress "together" since the root of evil, or the ancient fault of Israeli society, is that it oppresses, exploits and discriminates against the Palestinians, as if they were "two-legged animals," while demagogically and falsely upgrading Jews to the level of "chosen people."

Repentance of this oppressing society should be made by equalizing Jews with Palestinians and finally integrating them. One of the members of my kibbutz, Gan Shmuel, a teacher and an active member in the Sheli movement, wrote to me that "the decision is between partition or non-partition of the land of Israel." He, the loyal son and disciple of socialist-Zionism, already decided in favour of partitioning the land of Israel. He wants to say that he supports the idea of a socialist society and state, which would be like his kibbutz (which was once my kibbutz): a state which would not occupy and exploit the Palestinian people, which would not sit on their backs, but will be on their side.

This was also once my decision. But today I don't think this way, that it is really a Jewish decision. The correct decision in my opinion is: free and gradual integration of Jews and Palestinians by their own will, instead of the existing "unification" made through occupation, oppression and exploitation.

Q: Does the anticipated integration which you talk about mean a secular Palestinian state referred to in the PLO charter?

Adiv: The PLO charter is originally the charter of Shukairi (the first chairman of the PLO) in 1964, Today in 1982, the PLO leaders themselves don't see in it anything more than a historical document. It is clear that today they do not talk about the text of the PLO charter of 20 years ago. The question is what should be done here and now, in order to avoid further Sabras and Shatilas and incidents like that at Ma'alot. And to this fateful question I reply, that the Jews and Palestinians must meet, demonstrate and struggle together.

Q: Don't the Jews, in your opinion, have the right to a sovereign Jewish state within the borders of Israel?

Adiv: You asked me the previous question as if I were guilty. Now you are asking me as if I am a judge or legislator who grants or approves rights. I didn't sign, of course, the Declaration of Independence. Therefore this is not my independence. Real Jewish sovereignty and independence can be achieved only in a common Jewish-Palestinian state and not in the existing exclusive and "chosen" Jewish state.

Q: Do you know any Palestinians who are ready to fight for negotiations between their people and Israel?

Adiv: It can be said that all the Palestinian prisoners I know, except fanatic Muslim individuals, are ready not only to negotiate, but to live with Jews in Israel. And my friendship with them over long years proves this without doubt. Maybe you are asking with whom they are ready to negotiate, namely, with Begin and Sharon who are not ready to negotiate with the Palestinians except with the gun. With an Israel like this, which doesn't talk but shoots, no Palestinian is ready to talk.

Today the 400,000 Jewish demonstrators also shouted that they don't want the nationalist and militarist Israel of Sharon and Begin. Ben-Aharon (the Labour party ideologue) declared in 1977 that a Likud Israel is, for him, an alien regime.

Q: I would like you to clarify your attitude towards Zionism.

Adiv: Zionism, in its beginning, at the end of the 19th century, was a movement of a post-assimilationist Jewish minority, which despaired of European social democracy, and turned back to the mystical Judaism which had been dropped. But as Herzl said, "we are not coming to Jewry with empty hands, but bearing all the cargo of the European society and culture which we inherited."

Subjectively, Zionism is a mixure of European tradition, national Jewry, and socialism. And it seems to me, needless to say, that this old Jewish European mixture is not my Jewish-Palestinian synthesis.

Q: What do you think about relations between the Jewish religion and the state of Israel?

Adiv: Two months ago, after the decision to close down El Al airlines on Saturdays was taken, there appeared in Hotem, (Hamishmar's supplement) a bright caricature of an airplane tied with strips of phylacteries. I told my Palestinian friends in the cell that this caricature portrays one side of the 'attachment' proclaimed between Zionism and the state of Israel and Jewry, because it emphasises how the Jewish tradition ties the flying of European and universal civilization. Today we see another side of this 'attachment,' when the modern technological war machine of General Sharon smashes the mysterious Jewish theory of Professor Leibowitz and Rabbi Balvi. Maybe it is good to add another perspective from my personal experience: that the attachment of religion in prison exists only in the kitchen and the synagogue, and it has no foothold in any other spheres of life. For example, my demand to consumate my marriage. Those who organise prayers ignored and desecrated all the commands related to Jewish marriage. Only because applying them in my case, they claimed, threatens the security of the state of Israel. We see, contrary to the subjective perspective of the El Al workers and known Israeli atheists, this attachment is not enforcing religion on Israel, but the opposite — control of religion by the state or more correct, the elevation of religion to the state in return for jobs, allocations and respect.

Q: In a reply to your appeal against not giving you leave for marriage, it was said that you are the leader of the Arab political prisoners in the prison and that you chose this in the prison. Is that true?

Adiv: All the answers of the security service to my appeal are just half-truths and falsifications which are worse than lying. The only purpose of this demagogic answer which introduces me as the "leader of terrorists," "inciter," "dangerous to the public" etc, was to terrorize and threaten the judge in particular and the Jewish public in general, because it is impossible to convince them with facts. Believe me, these hysterical claims aroused in me only ridicule and also hidden pride because it revealed to what extent these security services are afraid of a restricted prisoner. Also it showed to me how low and inferior the political and intellectual standard of these services is. Half the truth maybe is the fact that I am living with Palestinian prisoners. Maybe it is not wise to lead them but to explain and persuade them of socialist ideas which, in my opinion, promise a common future and which is good for both of us.

Q: Is it true that you would be in danger outside the prison, as they also claimed? and if yes, from where?

Adiv: I read in Ha'olam Hazeh an interview with Yossi Sarid. There he talks worriedly about the "callers," the fanatics who curse and threaten him. This is one of the many things which would threaten me outside prison. But it is clear that it is not worry about my safety which bothers the people of the security services. It is the opposite: in their answer to my appeal they incite against me and pour oil on the fire of fanaticism and the hysterical nationalism surrounding me. Afterwards they pretend that they just want to defend me against the fire which they pushed me into.

Q: What relations do you have with Palestinian prisoners?

Adiv: My relations with Palestinian prisoners are talked about in a book which I am busy writing. My relations with them are, as Marx said, an issue of complete life. Avneri can write about the possibility of relations with Palestinians. I proved that good relations already exist. To give an example of the issue: in 1976 at the height of the Lebanese civil war, we started a strike against the new work-ordinance which the prison administration wanted to impose on us. As a punishment, they moved 20 prisoners, including me, to two separate cells in order to keep us away from the rest of the striking prisoners. After that they put six of us in solitary confinement and at such a difficult time, the leader of the Muslim prisoners approached me, shook my hand and said "Long live Arab-Jewish brotherhood."

Q: Is there national tension in the prison?

Adiv: Of course there is national tension in the prison. The prison is a reflection of Israeli society. I remember when I said to a new prisoner, during an argument, that if this quarrel was not between a Jew and an Arab — there would be no need to worry. For example in 1973, in Shatta prison, a fight between two criminal prisoners developed, with the incitment of three known officers, into a fight of hysterical Jewish prisoners against the Palestinian prisoners, political and criminal alike.

On the other hand, in Ramle prison, the large majority are Palestinian political prisoners and through the years they have maintained good relations with the Jewish criminal prisoners. Maybe personal scuffles broke out between nervous individuals from both sides. But the balanced and mature majority of the Palestinian prisoners always knew how to keep them calm.

Q: How do you explain that none of the existing political and non-political movements or bodies have worked for your release?

Adiv: This is not true. I have here a list of names of respectable Jews who support the reduction of my sentence by one third. But it is clear, anyway, why, in such a fanatic nationalist atmosphere which has been dominating the Israelis, no political movement or body has had the courage to show support for my release. There is also doubt whether they wanted this.

Q: Do you think that you received exceptionally severe punishment, a punishment of . . . ?

Adiv: I know that I was punished as an "example". Our adventurous leftist-group never did anything dangerous and actually we should have been convicted only of revealing some military and civil information which every citizen can read in the newspapers. It is strange that the judges did not ask themselves how such a group which, it was claimed, intended to commit acts of sabotage had no explosives! And how could it be that intended spies had no spying equipment!

Q: Is it right to say that the authorities are holding you as a hostage for the Israeli left?

Adiv: It is right to say that the severe punishment was imposed on me as a lesson to leftist Jews. But today, after the danger has passed, when it became clear that it was just an individual adventure, there is no logic in this. Today, my detention is no longer an "exemplary" punishment in itself — simply in order to break me, smash my spirit, to convince me that my politics are fruitless.

Q: Do you have criticism against the form of the Palestinian struggle? Does (DFLP leader Naif) Hawatme's statement indicate a change?

Adiv: My basic criticism is that the Palestinian struggle is one which still mainly turns to the Arab kings and presidents instead of turning to the Palestinian and the Jewish masses alike. Hawatme declared in 1969 that in Palestine live Jews who are not Arabs and we should recognise them and talk to them about a common solution for the Palestinian question and not fight them. I was very pleased to read about the meetings between all the PLO leaders and the Israeli journalists Avneri and Kapeliuk. Such meetings indicate a change which I have been working for since I adopted my political perspective: that the Jews and the Palestinians should drop their arms and stop fighting.

Q: Which Israel are you dreaming about?

Adiv: I am not dreaming but thinking. I write and talk for the sake of changing the existing Israel. Marx says that human beings put forward for themselves only visible purposes which they can achieve. The other Israel which can be visible today is your Israel, and Israel of those many demonstrators who have consciences.

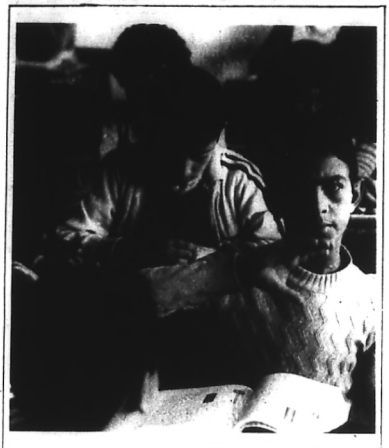
Q: Your name is followed with (the epithet) "traitor" and "spy" in the minds of the public and many would doubt whether Israelis are ready to listen to you?

Adiv: Lea (his wife) brought me not so long ago a file of old newspaper clippings on my issue. Among the things I read there was an essay by a known patriot and man of culture, who was lately promoted head of Israeli TV, who compared my parents and my educators in the kibbutz to the parents and educators of (leading Nazi Adolf) Eichmann, no less and no more. On this subject, I wrote to my parents that the 400,000 demonstrators against the war who shouted anti-government slogans showed who the real Eichmann of our generation is and who their real spiritual fathers (ie Sharon and Begin) are. In the role of "traitor" and "agent" of the PLO I am found today in the very respectable society of Eli Geva, Yossi Sarid, Uri Avneri and others. So there is no reason for me to complain about the name "traitor" which is attributed to me, and on the other hand there are many reasons to be proud of it.

Massive demonstration in Tel Aviv against the invasion of Lebanon.

Delegates to the 30th Zionist congress push each other around.

El Al workers clash with border police during demonstration at Lod airport.



THREATS TO EDUCATION IN THE WEST BANK

by Hatem Abdel Kader

We have recently witnessed a deterioration in the condition of education in the occupied Arab territories, a process which began with the Israeli occupation. The conspiracy against the educational system on the West Bank has aggravated the difficult situation of students and teachers, and recent events may even endanger the very existence of the educational system.

Part of the military authority's plot is to make illegal amendments to existing Jordanian laws, such as Military Order 854. The purpose of such amendments is to change the entire legal system in a way to serve the purposes of the Israeli occupation in advancing the civil administration plan. In its efforts to impose 854, the military authorities started arbitrary actions against high school students which are against basic principles of justice.

Expulsions

One such action is the expulsion of students from their school. One expelled student told me: "At the beginning of this academic year, I received an official letter from the military authorities informing me that they were expelling me from my school. They said the decision was taken because of my repeated absence from the classroom, despite the fact that they knew my absence was due to my imprisonment by the Israeli army for a few days. My absence was also due to frequent invitations from the military governor of Hebron to appear and register at his office."

Method of Expulsions

One of the teachers working in the Hebron region explained to me the military authorities' ways of dismissing active students from the schools: "The military authorities send orders to the active students marked for expulsion asking them to appear almost every day at the military governor's office. In a week or two, they inform these students of their expulsion from school, accusing them of prolonged absence."

Some sources from the General Committee of Teachers on the West Bank told me that these actions forced some students to leave school and go to work. The number of students expelled in the city of Hebron alone is 27; among them were students preparing for the *tawjihi* (the Jordanian matriculation examinations). Their arrest prevented them from taking the examinations. In the Bethlehem region, the military authorities expelled 15 boys and girls from Khadr high school. They also closed this school for three weeks, claiming that the students violated the civil order and endangered security. In the city of Nablus, more than 40 students from Kadri Tuqan and Mazuz al-Masri schools were arrested and the schools themselves were closed for an extended period. Very high fines were imposed on many students who were accused of violating security and civil order. In the village of Saffi, the military authorities called in large numbers of students from the boys school and administered 'treatment' which included beating and humiliating them.

Arbitrary Steps Against The Educational System

Sources from the General Committee of Teachers on the West Bank enumerated a number of steps taken against students and the schools during the present academic year. These included:

Delay in opening the school year by one month, causing harm both to the students and the educational system. The authorities used the delay to dismiss teachers who they called 'saboteurs.' We witnessed actions such as the arrest of teachers, transfers of teachers from school to school and compulsory early retirement. One of the teachers told me, "the delay in opening the new academic year harmed the educational system and was aimed at preventing students from participating in the fight against the civil administration."

Closures of schools: The administration closed schools as a way of punishing students who took part in demonstrations protesting the closing of Bir Zeit University. Eight students from the boys high school in the village of Aboud in the Ramallah region were brought to court and accused of taking part in these demonstrations.

Taking over Ibn Munqeth School in the town of Hebron and giving it to the Israeli settlers: Concerning this issue, a teacher told me, "this arbitrary action left the 700 students without a place to study. Suddenly they found themselves thrown into the streets. The military authorities prevented the school administration from removing anything from the school building, not even the official files of students' grades. Thanks to the administration of al-Muhammediya School, students were able to start studying at night."

In July, the military authorities arrested 70 students from Nablus on their way back from a trip to the north organized by the students association. They were accused of singing national songs on the bus.

Also in July, military forces broke into the offices of the Association of Working Women in Ramallah which was holding an exhibit organised by the High School Students Association. Military forces searched the offices, removed all items from the exhibit and arrested five students.

In May, Israeli settlers broke into al-Ghazali School in Nablus and attacked students, injuring some of them.

Israeli settlers and members of the Village Leagues daily harassed the students of Kadri Tuqan and Mazuz al-Masri Schools in Nablus. Occasionally they even opened fire on the students. Two students who were victims of the settlers' crimes, Anan Mufid Omar and Iyad al-Ahmed, both from the village of Burka in the Nablus region, told me the following story: "We were on our way to the school in Deir Sharaf when a military vehicle stopped next to us. The people inside ordered us to get into the car. We were taken to Neve Shomron settlement and turned over to the settlers who beat us brutally. This was on April 30, 1982."

Classrooms

In addition to these harassments which are part of the daily life of students on the West Bank, the schools suffer from overcrowded classrooms. An English teacher from Hebron said, "how can I move among the students in the classroom to check their work when there are over 45 students in a room of 25 square meters."

The phenomenon of deficient classrooms is a common one. One example is from Dhahriya village in the Hebron region. In the village, there are two schools with a total of 1250 students who study in 25 classrooms. Recently some students were removed from their classes because the classrooms belonged to private owners and not to the schools. The affected students tried to solve the problem themselves by collecting money from village residents to build new classrooms. But their effort was rejected by the military authorities which claimed that such plans need the approval of the regional Village League.

It is clear that the military authorities are doing everything they can to impose the plan of the civil administration on the educational system.

Conspiracy Against the Curriculum

The military authorities in the occupied territories continue their conspiracy against the curriculum in a number of ways, including the banning of a large number of textbooks and changes in essential sections of other textbooks. It is clear that the purpose of such arbitrary steps is to attempt to prevent students from developing a national consciousness. We have to keep in mind that after the 1967 war, the occupation authorities outlawed the distribution of many history and geography books and that all maps labelled 'Palestine' were confiscated and replaced by maps bearing the name 'Israel.' The military authority removed from textbooks all UN Resolutions concerning the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, especially the right for self-determination on their own land. The authorities also removed everything which may develop a feeling of belonging to the homeland or working the land.

Two examples are changes in the Arabic grammar book:

The sentence, "The brave soldiers went to fight against their enemy," was replaced by "The naive children clapped for the horseman in the playground." And the sentence, "We insist on our right to return to our homeland," was replaced by the sentence, "Smile at the students in your school."

Also the authorities come to school libraries from time to time to confiscate all books included on the banned books list which now numbers over 3000 books.

We can see from all of this, that the Israeli authorities' conspiracy against the educational system is designed to destroy the existing system and make it into an instrument to advance their plans. I should also mention, however, that the steadfastness of teachers and students, based on their awareness of the gravity of Israeli steps against the educational system, is enough to sabotage all criminal plans directed at jeopardizing the future of education in the occupied territories. The situation demands the intervention of peace-seeking, progressive and just forces in the country and in the world in order to expose to the entire world the real purposes behind the authorities' steps and to ask for an immediate halt to these actions which oppose the principles of justice, human values and international law.

Translated from Al Fajr (Hebrew) November 30, 1982

THE CITADEL

A Short Story by Jamal al-Ghitani

This is the second of two parts. Part one appeared in Al Fajr, no. 136.

The prisoner, the last in a remote desert jail, has been told he'll be released. Suddenly his treatment changes. He's allowed out of solitary confinement. The guards who had threatened to kill him, become friendly . . .

When he returned to his cell he saw a brass tray on the ground. On it were a glass of milk, a piece of Roman cheese, a porcelain pot of four eggs cooked in butter, real butter and a loaf of fresh bread. Was it possible to contrast this with the broad beans that couldn't be eaten? After finishing everything, the guard came smiling and he insisted on carrying his bag. He walked in his large dress and dried shoes. He entered the clean calm office near the main gate.

The moustachioed man said to him: "You're welcome, you're welcome . . . the car will not be late; it is in the vicinity." He said that he understood the hard days which he suffered in this terrible prison but he begged him to try to forget. Anyway, he said, sweet and bitter days are similar after they pass. What remains is only the regret over the passage of the beautiful days of age. His attitude in the prison aroused the respect of his enemies. "Oh, why is the car late?" He listened. He saw a copy of *Al Anba* newspaper on top of the grey cupboard. He could read part of the main headline: "A visit to India." He had forgotten the form of the newspaper and desired to read a copy.

Several weeks passed like this and the man with the moustache, who seemed anxious, left. He was alone, but felt that someone was observing him from a secret place.

He came to this place at night. They covered his face with a hood, so he did not see the complete area of the jail.

The capital had changed. His heart reverberated. He yearned to walk, walk, walk. The man with the moustache came back, he read something unfortunate in his face.

"It seems that the car has had an accident. A stop because of the rough road. Special help will reach it at any moment. It seems also that you will be in the prison for another night. You can sleep wherever you want, even in the officers' rest room, if you wish.

If the car came at the exact time, if he left the jail, he would be surrounded by the mountains through which the road passes for 1000 km until it reaches the green valley with its shadows, laurel trees, cross-roads, signs about slow driving.

If the car . . . then this jail would be part of the memory of when they put him inside this terrible cell for 15 years. When they removed the hood and he saw the miserable yellow cell, the wretchedness and deep sadness overwhelmed him. He imagined that he would not live long. But next day, he said to himself that many before him crossed through these gates and then left. At a moment or certain time, he would leave . . . if the car came to transform his tiresome existence here into memory and imagination.

That evening, the weakness infiltrated through the sun-rays, and announced the coming of night. Again he would look at the stars . . . If the car came, he would be spending eight hours on the road talking with the guards about the changes in the capital — its wide streets, new buildings. Who died among the famous; how are things?

If the car came, its searchlight would shine and the driver would strain his eyes to keep watching the road.

After he took his supper, he heard the flapping wings of a bird; that sound was not familiar to him. It must be that this desert was full of mysterious creatures. The night proceeded and insomnia prevailed.

He is leaving the cell to the WC without the black hood. He is returning and gazing at heaven, stars, falling meteors, light universe, centres. Slowly, slowly he steps down the old stone staircase, perhaps he might see the car in the sky. The shadows extend. The place appears peculiar in his eyes as if he is living in another world.

One of them approaches him. He fears a sudden bullet — perhaps, they might kill him at the last moment, on the pretext that he escaped. It is the big officer with the thick moustache.

"You did not sleep."

The surrounding is very terrible because of the terrible beasts. He does not know who chose this area. He must be the devil of imagination.

His good conduct in the prison will save the officer and the soldiers. He does not like this idea, as if they want to place the burden of the responsibility of their existence in the prison upon his shoulders. He asks about the news of the car, the man answers that the radio only works at 6 am and the news will come at dawn.

By dawn, the three guards became happy, they carried the bags. A young officer said that the car was 30 km away and it was repaired at night, but the officer preferred to take the prisoner out at dawn. The young officer laughed, "In fact, you'll release us."

If the car had come yesterday, the anxiety would not overwhelm him. At any rate only a short time remained. During the interrogation, a man from the south used to ask about the time demanding accuracy. One of them shouted "Why do you ask about moments and seconds, ask about years. You've a life sentence."

The man with the moustache came. "Don't be angry, two tyres burst and the car only has one spare. I suggested you be dispatched in one of the jail's cars, but they refused, saying that the cars have been devoted for the purpose of evacuating the whole prison after your departure. Don't worry about missing one or two days."

If the car came . . .

They brought him fatty dinner, cooked fish, that is seldom in jails, fresh fruit, a cup of tea that is among the banned materials in the prison. When he woke up, he saw three guards who insisted on carrying his bags again. Another new officer came and said that the radio picked up information on the same band directed to a military position. Misunderstanding, nevertheless it does not matter if you spend another day. The man with the moustache says that another car started from the capital. On the fourth-day the guards carried his bags. They waited for 16 hours in vain and then came back to the cell. He did not meet an officer or the man with the moustache.

On the seventh day, the man with the moustache conveyed his sympathy and explained his astonishment about the delay. He really knows the tension which the prisoner suffers, but he also want to see his family and anxious sons.

At dawn on the 21st day, he woke up with a terrible headache. The ground swayed around him, his body shook. The guard came. "Did it come?" He was not able to restrain his curiousity. Someone said to him, "Yes . . . and it awaits you in the car park."

At last! The moment came! What is the reason behind this delay? Perhaps they have changed the decision to release him. He much wronged the man with the moustache and the officers, but now he pardons them all. He approached the bags to carry them.

"There is no need, we'll bring them later — it's routine."

In the car park square, an apparently strong vehicle stood. Its wheels were strong and a reserve petrol tank was tied to it, wrapped in thick cloth and long wooden staves. "At last, it arrived. Congratulations, **mabrouk**." The man with the moustache appeared very pleased.

"You will leave immediately, without delay." He did not speak for a moment, then he continued. "There only remains an ordinary procedure. A piece of paper on which two lines are written-you have to sign it."

He is now gazing at the man with the moustache. Three long weeks of gazing at remote spaces at night and enjoying good food end. He remembers the days of the interrogation during which they covered his head to the neck with a black hood. They forced him to run, run until he stumbled on a tightened rope.

The man with the moustache understands his sensitivity about signing a paper supporting or denouncing any previous attitude he had adopted. The man who talks with him is not a detective, but has a political mentality which understands the rank of men and grants them their deserved respect.

He does not lie to him. This is the release decision and he has to choose the words and the phrases. "Look at it That's it. It is not a secret."

He transfers his eyes from the grey office to the pallied spots of ink, to the embroidered carpet whose details of embroidery disappeared like dreams unable to face reality. He is looking at the uncovered patch of floor, but he does not look at the car through the window.

The tone of the man with the moustache changed. Stretching his arms over the arms of the chair he tells him to listen well to what he's going to say, as a responsible man occupying a sensitive position.

He has to shelve the release decision. To cast the cause behind him. What concerns him now is his age before him. Half of the term passed and he is approaching 50. It is true that his whole personal life has been affected, but he is not sorry about the fact that his wife left him. What he is sorry about is to have to discuss these kinds of matters.

This is the decision of the release, but this piece of paper is part of the programme to be completed before his departure from the prison. If he does not write these two lines, he has to spend the remainder of his term in prison. That means another 15 years. He will be very old. Sixty-five. This piece of paper equals life. He is talking as a human being, understanding the value of freedom.

He stood up, he has to put an end to this matter. He desired to be alone in his cell. After one year of imprisonment passed, they had asked him to send a telegramme supporting the authorities. His answer was that he would not send any telegramme, preferring to spend the whole period in jail. They should know that they still have an enemy.

They told him that his colleagues had telegrammed and then been released. Yes, all left and he remained alone in this fearful desert. They accused him of being crazy. Threatened, but he did not care. They must know that he . . .

The man with the moustache laughs heartily. Who do you want to know? Does he think there are people who will think about him? They have too much work to spare a moment to think about him. He is dead. This piece of paper will not reach them. He promised him that no one would read it, it would be torn up before his eyes as they reached the capital.

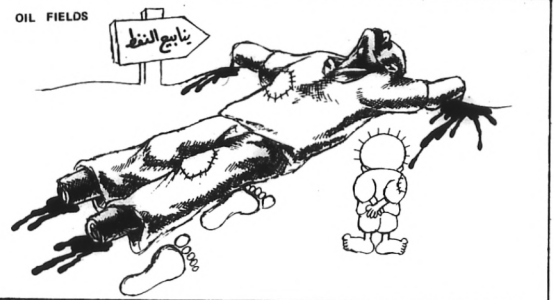
He does not answer and walks towards the gate. A soldier washing the car. The man with the moustache runs after him and catches his arm. He tells them that he does not talk with him for his sake but for the sake of hundreds of men in the prison who administrate it.

Each of them wants to return to his home and family, each of them to spend six consecutive months at home. This is justice if he has any sensitivity for others. He is being asked to sacrifice for the sake of others. It is true that they're guards, but at the same time they're human. He does not stop but continues walking to the staircase taking a refuge in absolute silence.

The man with the moustache understands well his degree of patriotism. His staying in jail will hamper the transference of the prison to the army. The prison will be transformed into an important military position.

The guards insult him, put the hood over his head, threaten to kill him. This issue seems like suicide. Before they cover his eyes, he sees the man with the moustache standing and gazing at him in hatred. This gaze negates the previous good treatment. One guard pushes him. He stumbles over the stair, the face of his old love appears. He takes refuge in the memory of the heart's beat, and he is about to taste the first kiss.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The shooting to death of a Palestinian youth in Nablus and the demonstrations that erupted throughout the West Bank were the main headlines in the Palestinian press this week. . . Seventeen year-old Samir Taslak was killed inside the King Talal school in Nablus. This version, published in the local Palestinian papers, contradicted the official Israeli version which said that the youth was in a demonstration and the soldiers fired "in the air" and "at the feet" before being forced to shoot him in the stomach . . . The election of the Ittihad Wa Taqadum (Unity and Progress) bloc in the student senate elections at Bit Zeit University received prominent coverage. Al Fajr and Al Sha'ab dailies also carried ads of congratulations to the winning bloc from national institutions throughout the West Bank and Gaza . . . Al Quds daily gave prominence to the topics discussed during the meetings of the PLO's executive committee in Tunisia last week.

Right to Self-Determination

The communique issued at the end of PLO leader Yasir Arafat's visit to Amman stressed that any Arab action should be based on the Fez resolutions which support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to build their independent Palestinian state. This in itself represents a rejection of the Reagan initiative which tried to eliminate the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The Palestinians have always reiterated their insistence on achieving a just peace on the basis of national independence and legitimate rights. The Arab countries which signed the Fez resolutions should face and shoulder their responsibilities by adopting practical ways to bring these resolutions into reality.

AL SHAAB
December 16

Unilateral Recognition

Egyptian President Husni Mubarak seems to have become the most enthusiastic advocate of unilateral PLO recognition of Israel without any pre-conditions.

In less than two months, Mubarak made two statements in this respect, the second was a day before yesterday in which he called on the PLO to take the initiative through recognizing Israel and UN Resolution 242. He claimed that such recognition would heat the US stand towards the Palestinian issue and would lead Washington towards the adoption of a more progressive stand through opening a direct dialogue with the PLO.

It is not only political blindness, lack of objectivity, harmful for the Palestinian people and their just cause, and an attempt to strip the Palestinians from all the gains that they have achieved throughout the past period that lead Mubarak to call for such moves. It is also an attempt to impose the policy of *status quo* that Israel tries hard to implement in the region and basically to collect the harvest of its invasion of Lebanon.

Any observer has several reasons to believe that the intransigent stands of both the US and Israel towards the Palestinian cause cannot be changed by unilateral recognition. Such a step would increase their intransigence and Mubarak himself should be well aware of this fact because he is now experiencing it.

The oppressed party that has its rights ignored and usurped cannot be asked under any circumstance to take the first step and recognise without anything in return. It cannot be asked to recognize the party which usurps its rights and tries to eliminate its national identity and destroy all its remains and reasons for survival.

The PLO has frequently stressed its support for a just and comprehensive peace that is based on the recognition of the national legitimate rights of the Palestinians. To ask the PLO for something that is more than this, is an attempt to strip it from all its gains and to cancel its role as a core element in the Middle East equation.

AL FAJR
December 18

Nature of Threats

The Israeli prime minister, addressing the 30th Zionist Congress, stressed that the return of the PLO to the Ghor (Jordan Valley) area and their control of mountains overlooking the valley is a threat to Israeli security. His call comes immediately after Palestinian-Jordanian rapprochement and the serious coordination between the two parties on all levels.

If we try to see what is behind Begin's statement we will see two things at least. The first is to give the impression to the leaders of the Jewish communities in America and elsewhere that the security of Israel is in danger and that the Palestinian-Jordanian rapprochement is a threat to this security. Second, is to wave his fist in the air threatening to strike against this Palestinian-Jordanian rapprochement before it becomes a threat to Mr. Begin's government.

No one can overlook the real nature of Jordan's stand towards the Palestinian military presence on Jordanian soil; Jordan has more than once clearly declared that it will not allow a Palestinian military presence. This Jordanian clarification was not only verbal, but was translated into practice on several occasions, a matter that proves to the Israelis that the Palestinian-Jordanian rapprochement only concerns political coordination that is needed at this present juncture due to the conditions of the Palestinian resistance.

Is it possible to suppose that Begin threatens the Palestinian-Jordanian political coordination?

No doubt the fragmentation of the Arabs and the absence of their coordination and action has always been an investment in Israel's account. Therefore any coordination at any level will ultimately affect the final calculation of this account.

AL FAJR
December 17

Historical Opportunity

The obvious thing concerning King Hussein in his visit to Washington is that this visit, to put it clearly, puts the ball in the American court and it is now up to America to take the second step.

The Jordanian king bears with Reagan in his contacts with the American thoughts and impressions and even peace proposals. All of these come as a result of negotiations with the PLO in which a joint strategy was put for the future relations between the Palestinians and the Jordanians.

Hussein also carries with him the decision of the Arab leaders who met in Fez such as the peace project which is the minimum that the Arabs and the Palestinians have said that they will accept.

In addition to these two things, Hussein will carry to Reagan the support of the international capitals and their proposals, which they expressed during the seven member committee visits to Paris, Moscow and Peking.

Many, many things are dependent upon the next American step. This would appear to be the last historical opportunity for the US, however, will the US act on this?

AL QUDS
December 21

About The American Stand

International and Arab circles hold that the American-Jordanian talks have great importance. These circles expect that these talks will result in pushing the "peace" process in the area forward by changing the American stand.

What is surprising is that these circles ignore the nature of the desired peace in the area. It is clearer now than at any time in the past, after the suggestions of dozens of peace proposals, that any peace plan that is not based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians will not be accepted by the Palestinian nation or by the Arab nations. It will not succeed, even if it were imposed, to build a just and durable peace in our area.

The American peace, as proposed by Ronald Reagan in his initiative, cannot be considered a just peace but part of an American plan to complete the control over the area on the account of Palestinian and Arab rights. We also cannot understand, no matter how much good will we have, how America can prove its seriousness in its search for peace while at the same time it increases its economic, political and military support of Israel. The latest example is the US challenge to the international consensus at the UN Assembly concerning the Palestinian cause, and the congressional vote to increase US aid to Israel.

The whole issue can be simply summed up. Any positive change in the American stand cannot come except as a result of an Arab effort that will shake the balance of power in the area in favour of the Arab nations and their cause.

The US will not respect Arab rights unless the Arab countries respect these rights and show they'll uphold them, show readiness to defend them, gather all their energies for their sake and build their relations with all other countries according to the latters' stand towards the Arab cause.

AL SHAAB
December 22

In a recent cabinet session Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir suggested as little news as possible should be published about settlements in the occupied territories. Minister Mordechai Ben Porat presented a proposal to extend censorship to include TV news reports about anticipated settlements. (It is good that none of the ministers suggested going back to the treachery of calling settlements "archaeological digs."

In the settlement department of the Jewish Agency it is easy to obtain a map of all the settlements in the country, which include the settlements in the occupied areas, and to find out from it that there were about 60 settlements planned or already established in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the past two years. The map, which was printed in English too, is published in large quantities. So, the Americans did not need to wait for the lecture of Dr. Benvenisti — whom Minister Shamir attacked in the cabinet session — to disclose the latest settlement push. When I received the map in the Agency's offices in Jerusalem, someone from the settlement department said that the settlement list which appeared on the map was up-to-date only until July 1982 (ie, three months ago). He whispered in my ear that another nine settlements had been established or were being established since then in the West Bank.

In order to understand the current settlement campaign, one should look at back issues of newspapers from a year and half to two years ago to find facts which are galling today. At the beginning of the summer in 1980, for example, Prime Minister Menachem Begin announced that Israeli settlement plans in the West Bank would end with completion of 10 more settlements. It was a difficult time for Likud government when US president Jimmy Carter then returned and announced that settlements in the occupied areas are illegal. Begin's government then was about to split, its Knesset majority was decreasing, and the remnants of Dash [a party which later dissolved] (Yigal Yadin) appealed against the establishment of new settlements. Finance Minister Yigal Horowitz withheld funds, and Defence Minister Ezer Weizman resigned from the government.

continued from page 1

Nablus Boy...

"As a tense week continued, a molotov cocktail was thrown at an Israeli vehicle as it passed Dheisheh, December 20. An Israeli military spokesman claimed that no one was injured. The curfew on the camp was renewed after the incident.

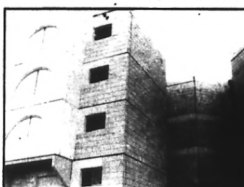
"At the same time a curfew was reimposed on al-Qasabeh after it was lifted briefly on the evening of December 19, in order, a military spokesman announced, to prevent a renewal of demonstrations. Israel radio said that classes were disrupted in some Nablus schools, and that stones were thrown at Israeli cars.

"Radio Israel also reported that Israeli army forces surrounded al-Am'ari camp near Ramallah after residents stoned Israeli cars on the main road near the camp. The radio correspondent added that the Israeli army set up road blocks at the camp entrances, and forced traffic onto side streets. The curfew on Balata camp was eventually lifted, December 22, after five days." (Translation: Al Quds December 21, Jerusalem Post, December 22, 1982)

December 19, MK Muhammad Watad, demanded the Knesset discuss "the policy of violence adopted by the Israeli government" which, he alleged, creates the tension in the West Bank. MK Tawfiq Toubi, from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality demanded the formation of an investigative committee to study the circumstances under which the young Palestinian was shot. Mati Peled, a representative of the left-Zionist Sheli movement also condemned the shooting. In a press release, Peled said that nobody in Israel believes in such justifications or claims about shooting in the air or at legs.

"This is part of the Israeli policy of oppression aimed at breaking the resistance of Nablus residents in preparation for settlers to enter into Nablus and erect settlements there similar to Kiryat Arba' settlement in Hebron," he said.

You Can't Hide a Settlement



by Dani Rubinstein

Ha'aretz (July 15, 1980) wrote that Jewish leaders in the US welcomed the announcement of Begin about the latest ten settlements, and *Davar* (1980) also wrote about the preparations of the government to complete the same ten settlements. Even Sharon (then Agriculture Minister) told the American mediator Sol Linowitz that Israel was intending to set up only four settlements in the West Bank (August 1980). The American administration was satisfied with this, because it hoped that it could push on the autonomy talks which had been at a standstill.

Since the latest elections, not only have 70 new settlements been established or begun, but a type of partisan settlement building has developed which has been gaining great assistance.

On the old project of the Herodion, the person in charge, a settler, was killed five months ago. His friends immediately established a settlement to commemorate him at the foot of the old place. In this place, the new settlement won official recognition and a large amount of aid. The few families who came there received housing, and within a short time obtained all the aid which is usually given to a new settlement. Six families from Rabbi Kahane's group from Kiryat Arba who two months ago initiated the establishment of a new settlement near theirs, called Nekim, also received immediate government assistance. Now they will have houses in an official settlement of the Kach movement, whose members wander around in the occupied areas and in Israel and tell the Arabs that they must leave. Aid (officially for the defence of the IDF unit) was immediately given to the daily Yeshiva students in Joseph's Tomb in Nablus, as it was given to and is still being given to the settlers of "Hadassah," "Beit Romano" and the Ibrahim neighbourhood inside Hebron. These are small fanatic groups who can today seize any piece of land they would like to have in the West Bank, and gain immediate recognition, aid and preferential status for a settlement. For these groups there are unlimited funds, and in Joseph's Tomb in Nablus the authorities demanded only one condition from the founders of the Yeshiva (according to the radio): not to open fire on Arabs.

As well as these settlers, whose activites are goaded by fanatic drives, contractors and business men, whose interest is only in money, enjoy immediate assistance. They are helped in obtaining land and in investing in the infrastructure of villa-building not far from Petah Tikva, Kfar Saba, Jerusalem and Natanya. Eighteen settlements and township neighbourhoods are now being established. Some are still in the planning stage (eg, on the West Bank: Ariel, Menashi A, Emmanuel, Assahel, Sha'ari Tekva.)

The great number of township settlement neighbourhoods and the dozens of settlements built in the last few years, which are designated to absorb tens of thousands and maybe more than one hundred thousand Israelis within a short time, are a decisive and unprecedented step for the future of the State of Israel. Such a big step is being taken, without the clear knowledge of the public.

The initiative of President Reagan who has not claimed (like Carter before him) that the settlements are illegal, has allowed the Israeli government to embark on a massive settlement plan in the West Bank. And if the Americans, our only friends, are not creating problems, so also the opposition here is silent. This is a regrettable fact which was true also during the war in Lebanon. There are many who believe that this government brings disasters on Israel, but they are as incapable as the American administration of offering criticism. This is what has happened: huge economic resources are directed toward the settlements, to encourage Israelis to settle in the West Bank, and to complete the full annexation. All of this occurs at a time when there is considerable doubt that most of the people in Israel support this policy.

The annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the state of Israel can be accomplished through the extension of Israeli law to these areas, as was done in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. The extension of Israeli law also means giving rights — even partial rights such as national insurance allocations — to the Arab citizens. The state of Israel will not do this — or only if special discriminatory laws are passed against the Arabs. Therefore the annexation of the West Bank is being achieved through other means, without the extension of laws. The West Bank and Gaza are today annexed to Israel without taking into account their population. The settlements are an important part of this annexation and whoever wants to conceal these activites would mislead not only the Americans but the Israeli public. For the settlements, and the annexation of Nablus, Ramallah and Hebron, there is a price which we all pay — a social, economic, moral and political price. (Translated from Davar, November 12, 1982.)

continued from page 2

Lebanon...

start, December 24, at Khaldeh near Beirut airport. Ismeli sources put a later start date on the negotiations.

War News

Meanwhile, the on-going fighting between Phalangist militiamen and fighters of the Progressive Socialist Party is reported to have claimed more than 48 people killed and scores of others injured this week.

A previously arranged truce failed. Fighting resumed after Phalangist elements erected road blocks in Shouf mountain villages and kidnapped some residents, December 17. This led to a total collapse of the cease-fire arrangement. Fighting escalated rapidly, and extended to al-Maten Ala'ala, and the Aley region, where Phalangist militia men were reported to have attacked on December 19 a Druse inhabited village called Ghaboun. The attack was repelled.

At least seven soldiers from the Lebanese army were reported to have been killed, in the area of Aley, after being caught in crossfire. Israel radio reported that the Lebanese army were preparing themselves to take control of security in the region. In other news, Israel's Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, threatened December 22 to "retaliate" for the killing of two Israeli Colonels December 21. The two officers were killed in a land mine explosion near Lake Karoun. The Israeli army says the mine was planted by Palestinian fighters who infiltrated from Syrian lines.

LEBANON-ISRAEL TALKS IN ROME

ROME — The Lebanese Embassy here declined to comment on reports that negotiations between the Israeli and Lebanese delegations will take place in Rome. In Lebanese circles, however, there are insistent rumours that a secret visit last week here by Ambassador Sattam, Lebanon's former representative to the Vatican and today President Amin Gemayel's juridicial counsellor, was said to have prepared the ground for such talks.

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Three Restriction Orders Lifted

The Israeli military authorities cancelled, December 20, the two-and-a-half year old town arrest orders imposed on three Palestinian figures in their home town of al-Bireh. Ibrahim Tawil, elected mayor of al-Bireh, Samiha Khalil, head of the Family Rehabilitation Society and Bashir Barghouti, chief editor of **Al Talia** newspaper, say that the same step should be taken in regard to all Palestinians under town arrest.

The three figures were informed of the authorities' decision, December 20, by the Israeli military governor of the Ramallah district. Samiha Khalil said that a local policeman came to her house and told her that she was wanted at the military headquarters. When she arrived, the military governor read her a letter signed by the Israeli Military Commander of the Central District, General Uri Orr, which simply said that the town arrest order was lifted as of December 20. The military officer reportedly told the trio that they should now have learned that "stones, bullets and talk" can do nothing to halt Israel. He is also alleged to have threatened to reimpose the restriction orders at any time he saw fit.

The three personalities agreed that the suspension of the order does not represent a change in Israeli policies. Tawil noted that the move "coincides with repressive Israeli measures against various Palestinian cities, especially Nablus which was placed under curfew during the past few days." He added that there are dozens of Palestinians who are still under town arrest. All three expressed the hope that their fellow detainees would be freed.

Tawil, Khalil and Barghouti expressed the opinion that the mounting international pressure, coupled with pressure on the Israeli military authorities by Israeli peace forces, compelled the authorities to make the surprise move. During the past few months, several foreign journalists visited those under town arrest, they noted, and wrote articles in their papers about them. Representatives of Amnesty International also visited them and sent letters to the Israeli government protesting the administrative restrictions.

The three figures are part of a group of seven who were placed under town arrest in August 1980. The other four are Ma'moun al-Sayyed, editor of **Al Fajr** daily, Akram Haniyye, editor of **Al Shaab**, Ibrahim Daqqaq head of the Engineers Union, and Wahid Hamdallah, elected mayor of Anabta municipality.

During the past two and a half years the seven have been banned from leaving city limits. Samiha Khalil's recent request to travel to Tira to participate with her family in the three day traditional mourning period following the death of her husband was turned down by the Israeli authorities.

Town arrest orders are administrative restrictions. The order is signed by the district military commander and must be renewed every six months. A town arrestee cannot leave city limits and must be at home from dusk to dawn. There is no appeal procedure and no reason has to be given for the restriction. Presently dozens of Palestinians are under these restrictions.

EX-GENERAL CONDEMNS WAR

Israel Intends To Remain...For ever

A press conference was held in the journalists headquarters, Beit Sokolov, in Tel Aviv by the Committee Against the War, December 22, calling for the immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. The committee announced in the conference that it is to organize a demonstration in Tel Aviv on December 25 in protest at the continued occupation of Lebanon.

Among the people who spoke at the conference were Matti Peled, Salman Natour and Anne Action, members of the committee. They analysed the political situation resulting from the invasion and the stay in Lebanon and demanded immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanese territory.

Matti Peled dismissed Israeli claims of possible withdrawal next February and said that Israel intends to remain in Lebanon for ever. "The intensified and on-going operations of road and house construction, costing hundreds of millions of shekels, testifies to this fact," he remarked.

Salman Natour threw light on what is taking place in the Shouf mountains, accusing Israel of arming and supporting the Phalangists and the Lebanese rightists. He said that the fighting in the Shouf "is not a fight between Druse and Christians as Israel claims, but between the Lebanese right and left." He also talked about the situation of drafted Druse youth. "They became implicated in the tragic conflict and found themselves killing their brothers," he said.

NEW ME CENTRE OPENED WITH SINIORA SPEECH

The first conference of the new Israeli International Centre for Peace in the Middle East was held in Tel Aviv between December 15 and 17, with the participation of a number of Israeli political figures including former Israeli High Court judge Haim Cohen and former Israeli foreign minister Abba Ebban. The conference was also attended by a number of Palestinian figures from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip among whom was Hanna Siniora, chief editor of **Al Fajr** publications. Siniora made a speech outlining the conditions of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation.

The conference was arranged by the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East (ICPME) which was formed on the initiative of "circles from New Outlook magazine." It is described by its initiators as "a non-party, non-sectarian, and non-profit organisation which seeks to undertake policy orienated research for peace in the Middle East." ICPME sponsors are all Israelis associated with the Labour Alignment and small left-Zionist parties and groups.

Four workshops were held at the conference's main sessions, December 16. One of the workshops, entitled "Israel and the Palestinians," was addressed by Hanna Siniora who spoke about the Israeli authorities repressive measures against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

Siniora outlined the Israeli policies aimed at undermining the Palestinian national institutions, such as closures of universities, restrictions on the Palestinian press, the iron-fist policy demonstrated in the occupied territories which resulted in the killing of 26 Palestinians and the wounding of hundreds of others.

Siniora spoke in detail about the Israeli attempts to create an alternative leadership to the PLO and stressed that continuing with this type of policy is encouraging a new round of bloodshed in the area.

He also stressed that Israeli policies have failed to achieve their objectives and that the Palestinian people continued to proclaim their support for the PLO. He ended his speech with a call to all the participants to work for "a just and durable peace directly negotiated between representatives of our two peoples, the PLO and the Israeli government."

The conference ended with a speech from Dr. Meron Benvenisti about Israeli settlement policy in the occupied territories and its extent and consequences.

AFTER VICTORY IN BZU POLL

Nationalists Complete Clean Sweep of Student Council's

The **Ittihad** and **Taqdum** (Union and Progress) bloc in Bir Zeit University won all nine seats in student elections, December 19, receiving 960 votes or 51.5 percent of the total. Rival slates, the Islamic bloc and the Federation and Unity bloc won 560 and 340 votes respectively. Of the total number of Bir Zeit students, 92.4 percent (2037) voted in the two electoral centres in the old and new campuses. The election started at 8:00 am and ended at 4:00 pm; the results were released at 11:00 pm. They were announced to the accompaniment of the blowing of horns from 10 buses outside the old campus. Over 700 students from different blocs stayed up to hear the results.

Nayef Sweetat, the elected chairman of BZU council, told **Al Fajr** that the opportunity was given to the two national blocs not elected to share in the students council committees. "If national unity is not reflected completely in the students council representing all Palestinians," he added, "it will not be reflected outside the council"

Several student council members talked about the programmes of their council in the coming year. Nayef Sweetat told **Al Fajr** "We nominated ourselves in **Ittihad** and **Taqadum** bloc under the slogan that Bir Zeit University will remain a lighthouse of knowledge and the spark of resistance. This means that our struggle against article 854 and all its consequences will continue politically. We agree to the rejection of the Reagan initiative and all projects aimed at depriving the Palestinians of their right to self determination."

Ahmad Qawarig, the victorious secretary of the art committee, told **Al Fajr**, "We aim to create an art centre around which all Palestinian theatre groups can unite. We also want to train debkeh (folk dance) groups at Bir Zeit University to teach the dance in all areas of Palestine."

Bassam Salhi, head of the defeated alliance bloc, told **Al Fajr**, "first we congratulate our colleagues and I believe that the negative reaction to what happened in Bir Zeit University will not be manifested in other national institutions. Politically and organisationally, we will continue cooperating with the council." When asked whether his bloc is going to share in the student committees, Salhi said, "this issue has not been discussed."

Statement

An announcement was made by Israeli artists in West Jerusalem that the exhibit of Arab artists from the West Bank and artists from Israel for co-existence will be held on January 1, 1983.

We participating Palestinian artists have decided to postpone the exhibit for the following reasons:

1. We support mutual cooperation with progressive forces in Israel while upholding our minimum requirement of the right to call ourselves Palestinian artists.

2. We ask for the freedom for participating artists to exhibit whatever we see fit as far as the subjects are concerned.

3. The exhibit is postponed until the above mentioned points can be cleared up and until we can reach a common understanding agreeable to all sides.

Palestinian Artists in the West Bank and Gaza

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 138, December 24, 1982

Number of original articles submitted to censorship	24
Number of articles totally censored out	6
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	2
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	12

1982 CENSORSHIP REPORT

Al Fajr (English) began publishing a censorship report in April 1982. Below are the totals for issues 104 – 138

Total Number of original articles submitted	1079	
Number of articles totally censored	367	34%
Number of articles partially censored but used	214	20%
Number of article mutilated	59	5.5%
Number of articles returned	20	2%
Number of article passed	417	39%

NEW STAFF MEMBER?

Al Fajr staff would like to congratulate colleagues Anita Vitullo and Sam'an Khoury on the birth of their daughter

RASHA

A Xmas present to us all

Jericho: From Winter Resort To Sunday Picnic Spot

by Daoud Kuttab

Ask tourists visiting the Holy Land what they know about Jericho, and they might tell you it is the oldest city in the world, or the lowest spot in the world. But Palestinians however also know that Jericho has the tastiest oranges in the world and, until a decade and a half ago, that it was a winter resort not only for the West Bank but for the whole of the Middle East.

Nowadays, Jericho has been reduced to a tourist stop for pilgrims and tourists travelling to Nazareth and Tiberias via the Jordan Valley, the center for the Allenby Bridge traffic and, as a Sunday afternoon picnic stop for wealthy Jerusalem, Ramallah and Bethlehem families in the winter months.

Known for its warm windless climate and flat plains, the citrus growing town was the haven of rich and poor alike prior to the 1967 war. In addition to welcoming the rich from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and the Gulf, Jericho used to house for the whole winter season middle-class families from Ramallah, Nablus and Irbid, Zarka and Amman in Jordan. Hotels like the Winter Palace and the Park, which are closed today, were full to capacity during the winter months.

Tourism

Both Israeli and Palestinian travel agencies send all their clients through the Jordan Valley when heading north.

Elias Jahshan owns the Old Jericho Resthouse opposite the border-patrol-guarded old city ruins. Talking in an empty souvenir store with his employees playing cards, Jahshan explained that his income is solely dependent on tourists and "they haven't come this year."

Taxes

Jahshan and his brothers own Muntasa al-Rawda private park on the right-hand of the road as you enter the town. "We have had to close our park because of the taxes imposed on us," explained Elias's brother Fouad. "The authorities are charging us IS100,000 in value added taxes (VAT). It is one thing to pay income tax on your profits, but to pay 15 percent additional tax on your purchases is too much."

Al-Rawda park used to be the address of many winter resorters in the "good old days," explained Lila Jahshan, "now all we service are tourists." She explained that West Bankers coming to Jericho on a Friday or Sunday picnic bring their lunches with them. "They might come to the park only for a cup of coffee or a beer."

Park Street

By far the busiest spot on a warm Sunday afternoon in Jericho is *Shaare al-Muntasahat*. The West Bank's elite families can be seen eating and drinking at parks called al-Gandol, al-Khayyam and Seven Trees. The average Palestinian cannot afford more than a cola or a cup of tea which costs IS40.

A highly successful resort for average Palestinians is the Ein al-Douk park. The park which is located in the northern section of the city charges a small entry fee for cars and families can picnic at the large space available. A swimming pool at the park makes it an attractive location for many groups and families.

Bicycle Riding

The most cherished activity for many youths visiting Jericho is renting a bike and cycling on the flat Jericho streets. Muhammad Ibrahim Hadoud has been renting bicycles in Jericho since he fled to the tropical city from Jaffa in 1948. His reflection on the change in business over the years highlights the present situation in Jericho. "We used to have over 60 bicycles that were in constant use; now we have 20 that we don't use very often," said the 60-year-old bicycle shop owner. Showing *Al Fajr* a log book for registering bike rentals he compared it with the pre-67 day. "Today I haven't filled one page while back then I would have filled the whole log book by this time." Ibrahim Hadoud, the proprietors' son, explained that young people have far less choices of places to go to. "They used to go to *al-Maghtas* (the baptismal site on the Jordan River), Deir Jamala, al-Fashkha and the Dead Sea, but now the area around the Jordan river is closed, the Dead Sea and Fashkha have army stops on the way and no one likes to be asked questions when they are bike riding." Ibrahim complained that even when riding around town and to Ein al-Sultan riders are bothered and by the Jericho police who stop the riders and ask for their IDs, check the bikes for bells, and even reflectors and lights in the middle of the afternoon. "Who is going to be interested in renting a bike another time after being stopped and delayed by police?"

Police

Complaints about the civil police in Jericho were voiced by almost every individual interviewed by *Al Fajr*. Parents claim the police force is corrupt and bossy, merchants say they harass visitors checking and double-checking driven for their papers, giving them tickets for minor infractions. One merchant told *Al Fajr* that a visitor to Jericho on a Sunday afternoon was ticketed seven times in a matter of a few hours. While talking to the orange salesman on the main square, police came by and gave two tickets to the fruit shops for having their products about 10 centimeters into the sidewalk. Merchants say that fining is an everyday experience.

Majed Dajani, a farmer, explained that Jericho has become a training spot for the West Bank's police. "I have been in many West Bank towns and it is not like this. I am for police keeping order and controlling traffic but this is driving all the prospective visitors away." Dajani explains that the police force has very few Jericho residents. "Many are from Hebron and I think their Israeli lieutenant gives them a ticket book and tells them not to return until it is full."

Corruption

Much of the corruption in the police force is, according to many residents, because of the bridge

Ahmad says that Jericho has become like a morass because it is somewhat isolated from the rest of the West Bank. After 1967 the 150,000 residents, including those of the two refugee camps of Aqbat Jaber and Ein al-Sultan, have been reduced in number to a little over 15,000.

All kinds of bribes take place on the bridge route where truck and cars fight for the chance to get through to the front of the line. Car drivers are especially anxious in the summer months when many West Bankers are trying to get back to their jobs and work. Residents complain that taxi drivers charge up to JD20 for the short three kilometer ride to the bridge during busy summer days.

Aroha — the beautiful smell — Jericho's name in Arabic, has become a bad odour. The once beautiful winter resort where rich and poor, honeymooners and families would come and spend the winter months has lost its attractivness. With Israeli checkposts at the entrances of the town that conduct very thorough searches after 5 pm every night, life in the winter resort is dead after sunset. Park owners, who used to open until midnight during the winter now have to close shop at 5 pm.

The winter resort has been converted into a Sunday afternoon picnic spot and, with the tourist business deteriorating, the future of the Jordan Valley capital is in danger of evaporation in the hot months coming up.

Strolling through Jericho/SF Photos

The subcommittee of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee met, December 21, with Israeli Finance Minister Yoram Aridor and decided to increase the amount of compensation for the Beduins of Tal al-Milh by IS100 million.

It was announced that this increase would be the last and that the finance minister will not discuss or comply with any demands for further increases.

Yousef Rom and Yossi Sarid, members of the committee, claimed that the increase would be given only to those Beduin families who agree to cooperate and carry out peaceful evacuation of their land. And those who refused to do so would get lower compensation.

On the same day, members of al-Nasasra tribe told The Jerusalem Post that they would "fight to death" rather than leave their land on December 31, the final date set by the government for their evacuation. Al Hamishmar, described the atmosphere among the Beduins on the eve of their evacuation as "tense." The Beduin planted wheat barely a month ago as they do every year. Al Hamishmar quoted brothers Salwh and Jaber al-Nasasra saying "Blood will be spilt and a massacre will take place here. We will not leave the land which we planted."

Earlier Rom and Sarid had announced they were pulling out of negotiations with the Beduin because of the paltry compensation offered.

Israeli Threatens Expulsion For 25,000

JANUARY 1: DAY OF DECISION FOR TAL AL-MILH BEDUIN

by Awad Abdel Fattah

The fate of the approximately 25,000 Beduin of Tal al-Milh, the most populated area in the Naqab, is going to be decided on the first day of 1983 — a deadline set by the Israeli authorities to move these Beduin from their original place of residence.

For the last four years, since the Israelis decided to build a military airport in the area after the Camp David accords were signed with Egypt, the Beduin have refused to move. The minute compensations proposed to them during the continuing negotiations between them and Israeli circles and the heads of the tribes, have made them more intransigent. Unlike the Yamit settlers who were offered up to IS50 million each to quit their settlement, Tal al-Milh Beduin state they have been offered only IS500 for each dunum. "The conditions which the Israelis set for moving us from our land," said Suleiman Nasasra, the head of his (Nasasra) tribe, "would make it impossible for us to survive in the proposed place."

Since the start of work on the airport several clashes have occurred between the different tribes and the Israelis, after which several Beduin were arrested. The clashes came either following the destruction of residences on the site designated for the airport, or when border guards were used to prevent the Beduin from cultivating their land.

Towards the end of last November Israeli excavators razed five residences after forcing the families out. "They carried out this action without any previous warning," Suleiman said. He added that border guards beat up the families who resisted the destruction.

In April of 1981, an attempt by the Israelis to dig up a road on Nasasra tribal lands led to scuffles between the tribe's members and Israeli workers. The incident, which ended with injuries, forced the Israelis to postpone the work on this road for a month.

The whole area of Tal al-Milh which is estimated at 80,000 dunums, has been fenced off with barbed wire. Only a few gates were left through the fence where both Beduin and Israelis go in and out. Inside the fence, scattered groups of shacks are seen, about two kilometres apart. "The Israelis wanted to impose a *de facto* (expropriation) by putting up this fence," said Hassan Saheh, a Beduin from a nearby group. There is no running water, electricity, or paved roads. The children of these tribes have to go to school in Xsafi, 10 kilometres away.

Inside the fenced area there is also a border guards' camp. According to locals it was set up intentionally to face any attempt by the Beduin to rebel against the ongoing clearing operations.

Sooner or Later Israelis Will Do What They Want

The Beduin of Tal al-Milh are in principle against moving from their lands. But they are convinced that the Israelis, sooner or later, are going to force them out. "We will not agree to receive any money as a price for the lands intended to be taken over," said Ali Sami'a, from Sara'a tribe. Their basic demand is to be given compensation for their homes. In other words they are asking the government to find for them a place to live in with compensation equal to the cost of their houses.

The Israelis plan to move the Beduin to the four existing Beduin villages; Xsafi, Ara'ara, Tal al-Saba' and Laqiyya. Many have expressed readiness to move to Laqiyya if land is guaranteed them there. Actually the Nasasra tribe, numbering about 2000 people, purchased 226 dunums in 1979 in Laqiyya from the Israel Land Administration. But, in 1980 the Israeli authorities changed its mind and closed Laqiyya to the Beduins.

Suleiman Nasasra, who signed the purchase contract and paid IS470 for each dunum, told *Al Fajr* that he was told by Meir Ben Meir, Director General of the Agriculture Ministry who was put "in charge" of Beduin affairs two years ago, that the land deal was cancelled. Suleiman has appointed a lawyer.

According to locals, the Israelis changed their mind regarding Laqiyya because it is close to Israeli settlements — "so that Laqiyya's land will be taken by these settlement," alleged one old man.

They also faced further problems after plots proposed by the Israelis for the Amour tribe in Xsafi village which belong to people from the village were declared "state land" and are now controlled by the ILA. "How can we take and use the lands of others," said Ibrahim Amour, one of the tribe members.

The Effects of Moving On Beduins

The possible forcible evacuation of the Beduins from Tal al-Milh would destroy their traditional way of life and endanger their mainstay: cultivation and animal husbandry.

What distinguishes Tal al-Milh from other areas in the Naqab where Beduin are living, is that large areas of different kinds of fruit trees are seen everywhere. Besides the fruit trees, grains are also an important part of the agriculture used by the Beduin tribes (each one owns about 4000 dunums). "To move from here to the places suggested by the Israelis," said Suleiman Nasasra "means to be deprived of our mainstay and become cheap daily hired labourers in the Israeli factories."

"Israel," he added, "wants to control all Arab lands by force and through other treacherous means."